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The Greatest Common Destroyer

Eight Studies in the Liquor Problem

NCALI

P. O. Box 1156

Rockville, Md. 20850

By

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of the

Methodist Episcopal Church Temperance Society

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CHAPTER I

AMERICA'S DILEMMA—THE PROBLEM 'TO-DAY

That America is facing a dilemma, no student of the times will deny. Either the great republic must find and remove the cause of prevalent and increasing insanity, of poverty in the midst of plenty, of unemployment in a land abounding in material resources, of growing idiocy, crime, degeneracy, municipal and state corruption, or the day will surely come when the nation will pass over the hill and look its last upon the road of upward climb.

In an address delivered before the Connecticut State Conference of Charities and Corrections, Dr. J. H. Kellogg, of Battle Creek, Mich., gave accurate statistics to show that if the present deterioration continues, especially among the dwellers in our cities, it is mathematically certain that a few generations will see our people hopeless physical, mental and moral degenerates, if indeed the race be not self-smitten with extinction.

And in commenting upon this address, Dr. W. A. Evans, once Chief Health Officer of Chicago and a widely known writer upon medical subjects, deplored its alarming character not because the assertions were untrue but because "the people are showing a disposition to face the situation, remove the causes and thus prevent the result predicted."

"Something MUST be done," said Dr. Kellogg. "Something WILL be done," says Dr. Evans.

There is more than ample authority for Dr. Kellogg's belief that something MUST be done.

From all parts of the nation come alarming reports of increasing crime. In 1891, the penal and reformatory institutions in Illinois required appropriations amounting to only \$574,100, but in 1911 \$2,092,100 was required to provide for the state's criminals. The cost of crime in Illinois had increased during the period eight times faster than the population!

But the problem is not one for the criminologist alone.

Dr. T. Alexander MacNicholl, an eminent surgeon of New York, is authority for the statement that mortality from chronic diseases in America has doubled during the past thirty years.

According to this same medical authority, the birth rate in the United States has fallen off thirty-three per cent within the past few years.

But it is not merely a problem for the eugenist.

Dr. MacNicholl asserts that during the time our population was increasing three hundred and thirty per cent, the number of insane and feeble-minded increased nine hundred and fifty-five per cent.

The superintendent of the State Asylum for the Insane at Austin, Tex., put this just as strongly, even though whimsically, when he said, "If something is not done, the day will soon come when the insane will outnumber the sane and then I suppose they will break out and put us in!"

The fact that every new administration must build an asylum for 1,600 added insane in Illinois and that the state had to increase its appropriations for the insane and feeble-minded asylums from \$1,799,585 in 1891 to \$6,577,138.68 in 1911 gives a solemn tinge to the Texan's humor.

All over the United States, sociologists are crying out for more asylums for the insane, for the idiots, for the epileptic, for the dependent aged. They are crying out for compensation for destitute mothers, pensions for abandoned wives, appropriations for unfortunate families.

Two roads lie open before us.

Shall we build more asylums for the insane or stop breeding lunatics?

Shall we erect institutions for idiots or stop breeding idiots?

Either we must abandon ourselves to a riot of philanthropic paternalism or STRIKE FOR RACE INDEPENDENCE FROM ALCOHOL.

I. THE DILEMMA

That is the American dilemma—the problem to-day—and it must be settled by this generation. These insane, these feeble-minded, these epileptic, these criminals are in large part the fruit of the unholy union between the license system and the state.

“At least ninety per cent of all criminal cases coming directly before this body have some saloon connection,” was the declaration of the Chicago Grand Jury in 1900 and sociologists estimate the proportion of crime

attributable to that source as anywhere from forty per cent to ninety per cent.

"Of the 15,000 patients admitted to the Illinois hospitals for the insane, about forty-three per cent of the insanity was of alcoholic origin," asserts Dr. I. J. Frisch, of the Cook County (Chicago) Asylum.

And time and again, exact scientific investigation by trained experts has demonstrated conclusively that by far more than half our aggregate of poverty, preventable disease and degeneracy are due to the one cause of alcohol, moderately or immoderately consumed. Sociologists, survey specialists, charity workers and relief agents have been gradually forced to the conclusion that the vice problem, the Negro problem, the immigrant problem and all the problems of life and living in our great cities are in large part nothing more nor less than the problem of alcoholic beverages.

"We can leave poverty and environment and the housing question out of the argument, for poverty and housing conditions are not largely responsible for the evil," asserts Mr. George R. Sims, in his world-famous discussion of child neglect, "The Black Stain." "We have to recognize the dominant fact that where children are cruelly neglected, there is, **IN NINETY PER CENT OF THE CASES**, a history of intemperance in one or both parents."

It is a problem of many facets—all to be confronted—but in its last analysis it is a simple dilemma—alcohol and ruin or prohibition and abstinence with consequent relief from a large part of the ills that oppress us.

II. THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF THE DRINK HABIT

Especially must we confront frankly the changing character of the drink habit caused by the evolution of the traffic under the federal licensing system and the growing hostility in the rural districts. "The liquor business was weak when the license system was introduced, but under the fostering care of this accursed fraud, it has become the autocrat of politics," declared John B. Finch in bitter indignation. The first acceptance of revenue from the sale of intoxicating liquors under the act of 1862 marked not only a revolution in the relations of the state and the trade but was the immediate cause of aggressive commercial expansion of the traffic, multiplied attractions to entice men into saloons, the careful fostering of the drink habit as a trade asset and a comprehensive, far-reaching "educational" propaganda to offset the activities of temperance organizations, especially where such a propaganda would result with the greatest ease in an extension of the drinking custom.

The development of the problem along these lines has been steady and rapid for the past fifty years but was suddenly accelerated by the great prohibition wave which swept over the agricultural states and rural districts in 1907 and 1908. Driven from the country by this agitation, the beer and whisky manufacturers took possession of our cities and there fortified themselves in these centers of population and power. From the cities, through the mails, the express, freight and navigable streams, the brewers and distillers reached with their

political coercion and solicitation of trade the remotest parts of the districts from which they had been ousted.

But foreseeing the time when this unholy source of profits would be shut off by a federal measure prohibiting the shipment of liquors to be used in violation of state laws, these men gave their larger attention to the breaking down of the last remaining prejudice against liquors among our urban millions. Little by little this effort is accomplishing its object and the result is an enormous increase in the amount of drinking in our cities which offsets the vast decrease in those districts under prohibition. The American distaste for the custom of serving liquors in the home is being gradually overcome.

"Fully twenty per cent of the entire beer output is now sold in bottles," writes Mr. Hugh F. Fox, of the United States Brewers' Association in his booklet, "The Prosperity of the Brewing Industry," and he continues: "Every family within range of the delivery wagon now has its icebox and can keep beer at a palatable temperature and when once they find how pleasant and harmless it is, the habit soon becomes fixed." And in October, 1913, in an address before the convention of this same association held in Atlantic City, President Jacob Ruppert, Jr., said, "I feel perfectly confident that the use of beer will become more and more general as time goes on. There has been a large increase in the family trade. The object now is not to get people to drink MORE BEER but to get MORE PEOPLE to drink beer."

This is the accepted line of expansion of the brewing trade. How enormous has been the increase of beer

consumption in the cities, where the "family trade" can be easily supplied, is readily seen in the fact that the per capita consumption of liquors is slowly rising in the country as a whole, notwithstanding the advance of prohibition.

Under the operation of the Mahin law in Kansas, which requires the report to the county clerk of all liquor shipments delivered by common carriers, it has been demonstrated conclusively that the per capita consumption in that state is not one fourth as great as for the nation as a whole.¹

Other prohibition states, while not presenting an opportunity for such accurate investigations, give evidence of greatly decreased use of liquors. Dr. Atticus Webb, a prominent Southern sociologist, recently read a paper before the Southern Sociological Congress, in which he said:

A conservative estimate places the drink bill of the 28,000,000 people of the South at \$150,000,000. There is a statement current that the drink bill of New York City alone is \$365,000,000. One third of the whole nation lives in the South but they drink only about one twelfth of the nation's total consumption.

Yet the increased consumption in "wet" territory, largely an increase in the use of beer in the home, has been sufficient to offset this great decrease in "dry" districts.

The Corruption of Our Girls

Fully as important as this invasion of the home, is the fact that, in such large cities as Chicago, it has be-

come as "respectable" for a young girl to go into the side door of a saloon as for her brother to pass in the front way. A great many students of the question assert that fully one half of all the minors and females of the wage-earning and salaried classes in our great cities patronize the "Family Entrance" of saloons or procure beer regularly in cans or by the case. The writer of this chapter has counted seventy-five girls, evidently working girls, or the daughters of mechanics and clerks, entering a Chicago saloon in one evening.²

And this saloon was in a residential district of at least average class.

III. HOW LIQUOR BULLIES BUSINESS

Scarcely less success has attended the efforts to interweave the liquor trade and more reputable industries. Brewery stock has been eagerly offered to reputable business men who could be attracted by its excessive profits, banks have been held in bondage, the boycott has been constantly held over the head of many merchants who would not submit to the domination of whisky and beer. Innumerable instances might be cited. In the city of Louisville, a young man employed by a bank distributed some dodgers for a temperance meeting. He was immediately discharged. In the same city, a cigar manufacturer, separated from his wife, found his goods a drug upon the market because that wife, who had renounced his control, had signed a local option petition in a residential suburb. Leaders of the Anti-Saloon League and Prohibition Party often tell of "big" business men who

come to them, as Nicodemus came to Jesus, in the night, because they fear to let their contributions and good wishes be known.

IV. THE STRONG ARM OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION

More important than all else to the patriot, however, is the powerful influence of the liquor traffic in politics. Here the trade is the strong right arm of corruption, the sum of all civic dangers. Seven hundred seventy-one million, five hundred sixteen thousand dollars are invested in the manufacture of alcohol beverages and circumstances have forced the concentration of this vast capital in a comparatively small number of plants. These plants have been linked in an industrial and political alliance which is one of the most marvelous developments of the era. While the influence of the liquor lobby was never less at Washington, it could hardly be greater in a score of states and in every large American city. In speaking of one session of the legislature in Minnesota, a Minneapolis daily declared, "The smell of beer was over everything." And Minnesota does not stand alone in her shame. Other states are in even worse plight and in the cities, the rule of the brewer and saloon keeper is seldom challenged. Restrictive laws are hardly remembered, Sunday closing is the exception, the back rooms swarm with disreputable women. Invariably, the law-breaker is protected by his fellow saloonists and by the brewer from whom he buys his beer.

"Every time I arrest a man who is running a blind pig," complained Detective J. N. Flynn, of Chicago, "I

find, when I get to court, that the representative of the brewery has been there before me. He threatens whatever judge is sitting with political death if he does not 'listen to reason.' " And Lieutenant John McCarthy, of the police of that city, declared, "If it were not for the influence of the breweries, I would drive the blind pigs out of Rogers Park in four weeks!"

It is in the cities that the centralized drink traffic is erecting a fortress of evil-inspired power which at every salient point threatens the perpetuity of our civilization.

V. "I HATE HIM, FOR HE IS A CHRISTIAN"

Such is the real attitude of the trade toward law and order. It is just as proper for members of the evangelical churches to inquire as to the attitude of the trade toward the Church and toward those elements of our population from which our Church membership is largely drawn. Listen to the *Brewers' Journal* of June 1, 1910:

Undoubtedly the Church and the saloon originated in prehistoric times—probably simultaneously. And they have been rivals ever since. Man first began to pray to his idols. The priest gathered around him under his sacred tree or in his sanctified cave those whom he could induce to believe in the "gods" while the preparer of the REAL joys of life required no argument to induce people to trade with him. So the saloon man had the advantage from the start. And he has ever maintained it, as is shown by the expenditures as compared with the income of the religious establishment. No wonder that the clergyman feels sore when he contemplates the national drink bill and then looks at the rather insignificant figures representing the sum of "offerings," salary and appurte-

nances with which he keeps his business going. The struggle of the Church against the "worldly" enjoyments of man is a losing cause, as its champions fight with spiritual weapons against substantial matters.

And the *Brewer and Malster* of June 15, 1912, reveals this same spirit of bitter hatred when it refers to "the Anglo-American Churches—those hotbeds of narrow-mindedness and fanaticism."

Anti-American

This hatred extends to the entire class from which the "Anglo-American" Churches gain their strength. "The Anglo-Saxon element," exults the *Brewers' Journal* of June 1, 1910, "from which we inherited the abominable remnants of Puritanism, is fast disappearing in this country," and in its issue of July 1, 1913, this same liquor periodical gloatingly foresees the end of the day of the Saxon in America and calls Greek and Italian, Hun and Slav, Ethiopian and wanderer to aid in shoving the miserable remnant from the loins of Puritan and Cavalier over the brink and into outer darkness.

VI. "I AM GUILTY"

And yet the institution which proposes to lead this assault on American ideals is a self-confessed criminal.

"The saloon as conducted is a nuisance—a loafing place for the idle and vicious," acknowledged the *Wine and Spirit Gazette* of August 23, 1902. "It is generally on a prominent street and is run by a sport who cares only for the almighty dollar. From this resort, the drunken man starts reeling home. At this resort the local fights

are indulged in. It is a stench in the nostrils of society."

"Any man who knows the saloons well can honestly say that most of them have forfeited their right to live," said the *Wholesalers' and Retailers' Review* of September, 1907.

"There is not a licensed saloon keeper in Illinois who does not lay himself liable to prosecution a dozen times a day," confessed the *Champion of Fair Play*, June 7, 1902.

And there is never a meeting of wholesale dealers or manufacturers of liquor, which does not solemnly confess the "evils" and "abuses" of the trade and earnestly profess intentions of reformation.

Are these professions honest? Is there anything done or intended to be done by the leaders of the trade themselves to the end that the evils of the saloon may be mitigated?

The best reply may be taken directly from the lips of President Timothy McDonough, of the National Liquor League, in addressing the Iowa convention of retail liquor dealers:

This talk of reforming the saloon on the part of the brewers and wholesalers is all rot. It sounds well in the form of resolutions, but if they were sincere in their resolutions, there would not be a dive saloon in the country one week from to-day!

The brewers resolve but their beer signs light the entrances to every vile saloon in the land. They deplore the lawless saloon and hasten to court to threaten the judge if he inflicts a penalty. They "long" for the separation of the trade and politics but they regularly bribe police officials and so manipulate municipal elections that

the Chicago Grand Jury of November, 1908, declared, "From the facts coming to our knowledge, we express serious doubt whether there has been an honest general or city election in Chicago for years past!" They express solicitude for the law and yet decoy letters sent to Pabst, Schultz, Schlitz, Jung, Gutsch and other makers of widely-advertised beers readily elicited from them offers to supply blind pigs and to aid in their protection from the law by concealment of shipments.³

In not a single instance have they shown a disposition to abide by any restriction or prohibitory law.

VII. THE INSTITUTIONAL PERVERT

Observe well the difference in the attitude of the people toward the individual foe to society and toward the corporate foe to society.

The body of a child is found concealed in a cellar. The limbs have been wrenched and gashed, the hair is matted with clotted blood, the eyes still stare with horror. Over all hangs the presence of something vile, unspeakably brutal—of hate and the desires which, gratified, turn again with reproach and fury. The city is roused and the murderer is hunted with ferocity. Found, he proves to be a pervert, a physical and mental defective. The yellow papers rage, the beast dies in the electric chair and the incident passes. It is the crime of a degenerate.

The saloon is a social, political and industrial degenerate. It is a pervert. It appeals to no healthy or human desire. It satisfies no normal appetite. It is a cave of the furies, where passions rage unleashed. It has no

sense of proportion. There woman is a beast of service and man a beast of prey. Its crimes and the crimes it inspires are brutal and simian. Its strength is the strength of the gorilla; its intelligence the cunning of the ape.

And we set THIS degenerate to rule over us. It dominates our municipal politics, it nominates our candidates, names our judges, seats our aldermen. Like it though we may not, it is a fact absolute and undeniable that the mayors of our cities are too often saloon-made and their policies are saloon policies. Our city councils do not aggregate the intelligence of an equal number of honest laborers—and they do aggregate the debauchery of the city's barrooms.

We have allowed this evil to dominate our polls, stand whip in hand in the lobbies of our state legislatures. We have taken its bounty and bowed to its rule.

We send the individual degenerate to his death for the good of society.

We allow the institutional degenerate to live—and rule—for the supposed good of our pocketbooks.

VIII. WHEN? WHAT? HOW?

The pressing necessity of dealing with this degenerate institution without delay is immediately apparent in the light of the fact that the consumption of alcohol in America is slowly but steadily increasing. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, the American people consumed about twenty-three gallons per capita, the highest average in the history of the revenue department with the exception of the year 1907.⁴

The increase during the past half century has been largely an increase in beer consumption but so much more is being consumed that there has been a thirty-seven per cent rise in the amount of absolute alcohol used. So fast has this habit gripped the people that the annual liquor bill, more than two thousand million dollars, is double the national debt, double the paid-in capital of the national banks, about four times the expenditures for the public schools and three times the entire annual receipts of the federal government, with the proceeds from the sale of bonds excepted.⁵

Perhaps the true size of this appalling waste may be brought closer home by comparison with another national loss. America loses more by fire—far more—than any other nation. One house burns on an average of every ten minutes. Each year the buildings burned, if set side by side on both sides of the road, would line an unbroken avenue of desolation from New York to Chicago. But the fire loss is a small thing in comparison with the treasures sunk in the rum glass. The financial loss from fire is only \$2.68 per capita.⁶

The per capita loss from the traffic in alcohol is eight times that, or more than \$21 for every man, woman and child in the nation.

And while the loss from fire is material only, the desolated hearts, the blasted souls and enfeebled bodies scorched by the flames of alcohol would make a mound of sorrow beside which Sennacherib's bloody pile of hands would fade from history into insignificance!

What Must Be Done

To paraphrase Lord Nolan's famous cry, "There, gentlemen, lies your enemy." Enemy to America and to Church. It only now remains to see what may and must be done. This study, which only intends to point out in brief the nature of the traffic to be fought, has nothing to do with what is being done to fight it or what methods must be followed in the future. Such matters need more complete discussion. But in closing, it is eminently fitting that we stress the obvious fact that the matter must be dealt with radically and NOW. If the Church is to experience the spiritual renovation which will fit it for its great work of salvation, it must awake to the responsibilities of its mighty civic influence. The Church is mightier than the saloon and yet the saloon survives. And its enemy has concluded therefrom that the Church is decadent and its sword sheathed. But the Church is not decadent.

In the time of the great Napoleon, contemporary comment proclaimed the hopeless degeneracy of old England. Society was putrid; politics a mass of fetid rot. Wellington said that never had England sent to battle a worse army than the one he led to Waterloo. And yet the black midnight was to be rent by a sunburst of new opportunity.

The Church, like England in the early part of the nineteenth century, is giving evidence that the iron of circumstance has bitten deep into the common conscience of Christianity's host. The feeble weapons of policy and compromise are being abandoned and the Church is casting about for a bludgeon of tried strength and proven

power. ~~X~~ The Church has fixed her determination to graft her victory upon the national basic law and all the windows of Methodism are open toward the Capitol at Washington.

Not Only What But How

Duty of Epworthians

The duty now of every Epworthian is to know not only what should be done but HOW. The rum power is too colossal to be ignored, too cyclonic to be regulated, too insolent to be endured. On these truths we are all agreed. But what part in its overthrow belongs to education, what part of the moral force exerted against it must pass through the phase of law, what part must play about the mind and conscience of the individual and what part must speak in thunder to Congress and the states—all these must be decided by fact and philosophy. No Epworthian—no young man or young woman—has a right to rest easy upon his pillow without the satisfaction of knowing that he has considered the problem, its sources and development, the means and methods of its overthrow, with all the earnestness and concentration of which he is capable.

¹ Particulars of this investigation on file at headquarters, Temperance Society of Methodist Episcopal Church, Topeka, Kan.

² Saloon at corner of Lincoln Avenue and Wells Street.

³ These letters were sent by President Samuel Dickie of Albion College, Albion, Mich.

⁴ Report of Internal Revenue Department, December, 1913.

⁵ In 1910 the national debt was \$1,046,449,185. The paid-in capital of national banks was \$989,567,114. Total government receipts were \$675,511,715. The expenditures on public schools were \$426,250,434. The retail expenditures for intoxicants in 1910 were slightly in excess of \$2,000,000,000.

⁶ "London Times Review," of "Fires and Fire-Fighters," by John Kenlon, Chief New York City department.

CHAPTER II

ALCOHOL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

There is in humanity a natural desire for stimulation. Somehow primitive man found out that a pseudo-stimulation could be artificially produced by the use of alcohol. Not knowing its bad effects he felt free to indulge in its use. The habit has been handed down to us by social custom. Its uses have been widened and deepened by commercial exploitation.

This is a far different thing from the statement so often made by psychologists that there is an inherent "intoxication-impulse."

THERE IS A NATURAL STIMULATION-IMPULSE. And this stimulation-impulse having been unnaturally satisfied with alcohol, the desire for alcohol has been created. In proof of this it is significant that even to-day, after centuries of drinking, the appetite for alcohol must be recreated in every drinker. The case of Jack London as told in "John Barleycorn" is illustrative of this fact.

Sources of Its Social Aspect

Liquor drinking arose as a distinct SOCIAL HABIT. It was at first used entirely in a collective manner and for a collective purpose. Alcoholic liquors were kept as tribal property and were held sacred to social use.

One of the first and most common uses was in religious ceremonies. On occasions of important religious festivities intoxicants were used to induce a state of frenzy which was taken as a communication of divine joy. It was supposed to signify divine presence and sanction. It was extensively used in Shumanism, which is said to be the oldest religion of which we have record. In the Soma worship of India an intoxicating drink—Soma—was the thing worshiped. In the Dionysian cult in Greece, Bacchus, or Wine, was God.

One of the very important ceremonials of all primitive peoples was the initiatory rites by which boys were admitted into the full life of the tribe. Such ceremonies were occasions of great jubilation in which intoxicants played an important part because of their power to “jubilate” and melt down personality into one great happy social consciousness.

War and peace ceremonies were occasions of similar import. When going to war these ceremonies were used to bring the gods to their aid. Intoxicated frenzy was a sign of their favor. On returning triumphantly from the war such ceremonies were to celebrate their victories and show gratitude to their deities.¹

Alcohol was not the only instrument used for these purposes. Certain herbs and other concoctions were known and used with similar results. Even physical processes were used to produce frenzied states similar to intoxication. But alcohol was most effective, and gradually drove all competitors from the field.

Repeated use in these social occasions finally developed a desire for the effects of alcohol aside from any social festivities. This was inevitable. It must ever be so long as alcohol is alcohol.

Along with the increased desire for alcohol for personal purposes came the increased supply incident to better methods of manufacture. The early care with which alcohol was guarded as a tribal possession was due, no doubt, to its scarcity. An increased supply obviated that difficulty.

Thus intoxicants began to be used in smaller social and semi-social groups, such as family and other units. But this process of differentiation was bound to continue, and did continue until drinking became a personal habit with many people.

Differentiation of the Habit

This differentiation in the use of intoxicants has continued down to the present day, but, as in most cases where there is a process of differentiation, parts of old customs also endure. This is true in this case. In the United States to-day we can find customs which parallel nearly all the uses to which alcohol has ever been put.

We have much social drinking. It is almost useless to attempt to enumerate cases in which alcohol plays a prominent part in social functions. Political, fraternal, educational and many sorts of social functions depend upon the power of alcohol to put "jingle" into the festivities. It is only a short time since the "barrel of cider" and the "New England rum" were thought as necessary in reli-

gious gatherings as the Bible and the hymn book. In what we call "higher social circles" in this country the wine and champagne constitute one of the important elements. Just recently Secretary of State Bryan startled the nation by refusing to serve intoxicating liquors at official dinners.

Family drinking is on the increase. Modern facilities for the delivery and use of beer in the home have allowed the breweries in our cities to wage a successful campaign against the home. This is one of the means that has led to the tremendous increase in consumption of beer in the last generation. It puts it in reach of the boys and girls at the very time when they are forming new habits.²

Women in this country were once almost universally abstainers. To-day they are filling the ranks of drinkers by the thousands. It is appalling to know how usual it is in social circles for women to take their part of the liquor. The family entrances to the saloons in our large cities swarm with girls and women.²

Another important phase of the drinking custom is that which is carried on in specialized drinking places—in the saloon or the buffet. As pointed out in another place the license exacted from those who sell intoxicants has forced them to specialize in that business. This has led to splendidly furnished and brilliantly lighted saloons with their chairs and tables, their music and dancing, their lewd pictures and their free lunch. It is estimated that we have in the United States to-day, 194,000 saloons.

And all this has led to a thing that was unknown in the early history of drinking—the personal drinking habit. The constant use of alcoholic beverages in the home, the saloon and in social circles has intensified and developed the alcohol appetite so that there are thousands of men and women who drink because they want it, aside from any social or other implications. This habit is known as “bottle drinking.”

The Test of Liquor's Social Efficiency

We do not deny the fact that liquor has had a secure place in society for many centuries; but we do insist that this fact does not prove its right to exist. Slavery lasted for centuries and enjoyed both a secular and religious sanction, but slavery is no more. Like a black shadow it has passed from view. Why did it go? Because it was weighed in the balance and found wanting. Likewise polygamy was practiced and sanctioned by practically every race in primitive times. Anthropologists tell us that both slavery and polygamy were necessary in the development of the race. Whether or not this is true, the time came when they were not necessary. So in the greater universal law of evolution they were discarded.

This is the day of the Pragmatic Philosophy. The Pragmatic Philosophy has a test for all doctrines and institutions. It asks: What difference does it make? How does it affect conduct and character? Does it help the individual or society? This is the common sense test and it appeals to common sense people. By this test the liquor traffic must stand or fall.

I. HOW DOES ALCOHOL AFFECT THE SOCIAL HEALTH?

The health of society is one of its fundamental requisites. Without this it cannot build a permanent superstructure—material, intellectual or moral. "How alcohol affects the health of society," is therefore a basal pragmatic question.

Alcohol is now known to be a toxic poison, the excretion of the yeast plant. Experiments by Rauber showed that a ten per cent solution of alcohol acted as a definite protoplasmic poison to all forms of cell life with which he experimented—including the hydra, tapeworms, earthworms, leeches, crayfish, various species of fish, Mexican axolotl, and mammals, including the human subject.

When taken into the human body it attacks the fundamental cell-unit of tissue material. Henry Smith Williams, M.D., LL.D., says: "There is an ever-present tendency to destroy the higher forms of cells—those that are directly concerned with the vital processes—and to replace them with useless or harmful tissues."³

"The complicated human organism is built up of the varied groupings of these single elementary organisms. In one the function of movement is affected by alcohol, in another the chemical transformation of food, in a third propagation, in a fourth nerve activity. Billiards of protoplasm are continually at work to perform the functions which the support of the body requires. When we introduce alcohol into this fine and delicate machinery, that alcohol which withers all protoplasm with which it comes in contact, is it strange that the work of the organism suffers, that in one case the excretion of urea

is adversely affected, in another the action of the heart rendered insufficient, and above all that the brain is poisoned?"⁴

This general attack which alcohol makes on muscle, nerve, bone, and heart cells lays the body open to disease, and prevents its throwing off disease when once contracted. For instance alcohol poisons, (drunkens) the little policemen of the blood—the white corpuscles—so that they are not effective in the performance of their duty—the duty of warding off disease germs.⁵

Physicians have found that alcohol has an especially close relation to tuberculosis. Its use causes a marked predisposition toward that dread disease. "Alcohol," said a French physician, "prepares the soil for tuberculosis." "Without alcohol," says M. Reinach, "the rural population of France would be practically untouched by tuberculosis. As it is alcoholism is destroying the peasantry of the most healthful and beautiful regions by inducing tuberculosis."⁶ Dr. Maurice Letulle says: "On a basis of 717 cases of pulmonary tuberculosis, observed three years at the Hospital Boucicault, I have been able to affirm, that, en bloc, eighty per cent of the workmen under my care are alcoholists, and that nine-tenths of the Parisian workmen above thirty years, affected with pulmonary phthisis, are alcoholists."⁷

Investigations carried on in the Phipps Institute in Philadelphia showed that there was less marked improvement and more deaths among the patients who used intoxicants. It is estimated that ten to twelve per cent of all deaths by tuberculosis are due to drink. The United

States Mortality Statistics show that out of every one hundred men in all occupations who died in 1908, fifteen died of tuberculosis; but among saloon keepers, liquor dealers and bartenders, twenty out of every one hundred died of that disease.

It is estimated that twenty-three per cent of the deaths by pneumonia, paralysis and apoplexy; thirty per cent of those from Bright's disease; sixteen per cent of those from heart disease; forty-three per cent of those from heat prostration; and seventy-five per cent of those from liver cirrhosis are due to alcohol. There are 106 diseases in which alcohol may be one cause.⁸

"At the Congress in Stockholm, an actuary of the Swedish Life Insurance Company, Dr. Philip N. Ekholm, presented tables which indicate clearly the advantage which the suppression of alcohol would bring in the inch-by-inch struggle with death. This company had classified, from 1897, 29,029 policy holders in two groups—abstainers and non-abstainers. Of these 15,292 (53 per cent) belonged to the first category; 13,737 (47 per cent) to the latter. Dr. Ekholm reported that the expected mortality, based on the general mortality of all Swedish males in the period 1881-90 inclusive, was 504 for the 15,292 abstainers, and 435 for the 13,737 nonabstainers. Yet in spite of the fact that the nonabstainers represented an elite class physically, and were extremely moderate drinkers, their record was continuously in each year inferior to that of the abstainers. While of the 504 of the latter class 252, or 50 per cent, died in the whole period, of the nonabstainers 244, or 56 per cent, died. This

gives a minus mortality of 6 per cent in favor of the abstainers."

"All in all," says Dr. Ekholm, "it does not seem possible to explain this difference on any other ground than on that of attitude towards alcoholic drinks."

Records kept by the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution, London, show that while ninety-three deaths occurred for every one hundred expected among drinkers, only seventy occurred among abstainers. These records show, therefore, that the abstainer may expect to live about 11 per cent longer than the moderate drinker.

"The Titanic carried down to death 1,503 persons. Alcohol is estimated to carry off 1,503 adults every eight days, 65,807 every year in the United States."

Drinking by parents is a most prolific cause of infant mortality. Professor Sullivan found that of 600 children from drinking mothers over half (55.8 per cent) died under two years of age." "In 1,551 families of abstainers thirteen per cent of the children died; in 1,883 families of moderate drinking parents twenty-three per cent died; in 1,461 families of immoderate parents thirty-two per cent died."¹⁰

But from the social standpoint, perhaps, the most significant and dangerous fact of all is the effect of alcohol on heredity. Not alone does it undermine the health of the living; it destroys the basis of health and strength in the unborn.

Alcohol and Heredity

Dr. Stockard of Cornell Medical School made extensive experiments with guinea pigs. To some parents he gave alcohol and to others none; he then compared results. He found that the alcoholized parents had in all thirty-two young of which twenty-five died. Of the seven living, five were stunted. The parents that were not alcoholized had seventeen young and lost not a single one. Experiments with dogs, rabbits and cats show practically the same facts.

Professor Laitinen of Finland in a comparison of drinking and abstaining families living under similar conditions, found that the abstaining parents had 1.3 per cent of weakly children; while the drinking parents had 8.2 per cent.

Dr. Demme of Berne, Switzerland, compared during a period of fifteen years ten temperate families with ten intemperate families living under practically the same conditions. The temperate families had sixty-one children of whom fifty lived and were normal; the intemperate families had fifty-seven children of whom only ten lived and were normal. In the temperate families five died in infancy. In the intemperate families twenty-five died in infancy. In the intemperate families one had St. Vitus Dance, six were idiotic, five were deformed, five were dwarfed, and five were epileptic—twenty-two degenerates. There were only six degenerates in the temperate families.

Specific examples of the results of scientific investigation along this line might be multiplied. They all show

substantially the same results as those given. The medical world is fast becoming agreed that alcohol is a poisonous drug and deserves no larger place in *materia medica* than morphine and the other narcotics. They are almost unanimous in saying that alcohol used as a beverage is detrimental to health and destructive of life.¹¹

Thus, from the social standpoint ALCOHOL FAILS AT THE HEALTH TEST. Society cannot afford to maintain anything in its midst that undermines its health—the foundation on which all else must be built.

II. HOW DOES ALCOHOL AFFECT SOCIAL EFFICIENCY?

Recent experimentation has proven what common sense has long believed—that alcohol makes a man less efficient for work, both as to the amount and quality of work done.

Everybody knows in a general way the deleterious effect of alcohol in athletics. But these effects are now being measured scientifically so that they can be compared and understood. In a sixty-two mile marathon race held in Germany only twenty-nine per cent of the competitors were abstainers. But of the ten prize winners, sixty per cent were abstainers. The first four men across the line were abstainers. More than half of the fifty-seven drinkers failed to reach the goal, while only two of the twenty-four abstainers fell out.

Professor Durig of Switzerland made mountain-climbing tests on Mount Bilkencrat in the Alps. To his surprise he found that on the days when he took about two glasses of beer before starting, it required 21.7 per cent

longer than on abstinent days. That is, the work done (foot-pounds per second) was 16.4 per cent less.

Marksmanship tests in the Swedish army showed that on days when two thirds of a wine glass of brandy were taken thirty minutes before firing, there was an average of three hits out of thirty shots fired in quick succession, while on abstinent days there was an average of twenty-six hits under the same conditions. Similar tests in the German army have caused the Emperor to plead for total abstinence on the part of the men in both army and navy.¹²

Typewriting tests showed that there was less work done and more errors made on the days when alcohol was taken. There was a ten per cent loss of efficiency.¹³

In signal reading tests it was found that for a short while after alcohol was administered the response was made quicker, BUT THERE WERE MORE MISTAKES BOTH IN READING AND IN ANSWERING.

On July 3, 1912, an engineer on the Lackawanna Railroad was drinking. The following day he ran his train past three signals warning him to stop; a horrible wreck was the result, in which forty people were killed outright and seventy-five more were wounded. Soon after the wreck the managers issued the following rule: "TRAINMEN MUST NOT DRINK OR ENTER SALOONS EVEN WHEN OFF DUTY."

Alcohol impairs memory. It injures the brain cells so that thought association processes are more difficult. Professor Vogt of the University of Christiania found

(in experiments on himself) that it required eighteen per cent longer to memorize twenty-five lines of Greek poetry on days when about two glasses of beer were taken than on abstinent days.

This effect of alcohol upon mental processes was thoroughly substantiated in a set of experiments made by Professor Kraepelin of the University of Heidelberg, and Dr. Kurtz. They found that moderate amounts of alcohol decreased the number of numbers memorized fully 6.2 per cent. They found further that both simple and complex thought association processes were decidedly interfered with by alcohol.¹⁴

Alcohol decreases intellectual efficiency. E. Bayer in investigations in Vienna, and Professor T. Alex Mac-Nicholl in New York City both found that children from homes where wine or beer was used were more disorderly in conduct and poorer in scholarship than others.

Alcohol decreases MORAL efficiency. This is no mere figure of speech. It is cold, scientific truth. Here is the reason: The chemical action of alcohol on the brain cells is disorganizing to mental processes. Disorganization means demoralization; this is true in every phase and sphere of life. Normally, one thinks, then acts; but when the association centers are disorganized by alcohol, one is apt to act, then think. And, too often, when he thinks, he has committed a crime. Disorganized mental processes make a person susceptible to immoral motives. This is why ALCOHOL causes from forty to ninety per cent of our crimes as variously es-

timated by the Committee of Fifty, criminologists, prison wardens and others.

Since alcohol decreases efficiency—physical, intellectual and moral—it is inevitable that it should cause poverty. And it does! Lessened labor efficiency means a small pay envelope. Saturday night drinking habits mean an empty envelope on Monday morning. Of 352 able-bodied men in Boston who failed to support their families sixty-five per cent were drinkers. The Committee of Fifty estimated that one fourth of our poverty and thirty-seven per cent of the pauperism is due to drink.¹⁵

At every point ALCOHOL FAILS at the pragmatic test of efficiency.

III. ALCOHOL AND SOCIAL HAPPINESS

There may have been a time when alcohol increased the sum-total of human happiness; we don't believe it did. WE ARE SURE THAT IT DOESN'T DO IT TO-DAY. True, the person who drinks may have a short respite from worry and care. Alcohol narcotizes the more recently developed and highly organized brain centers first—those that control the thoughts and activities that correspond to his latest, highest development. This releases the older, cruder animal-like sensations and actions, and for the time being turns him into a care-free animal.

But the ultimate effect upon the drinker himself is more pain and misery than joy, as we so well know. And add to this the misery caused to those who love him and whose hopes in him are crushed; and to those de-

pendent upon him, who suffer because of his bestiality, and it must be apparent why the sum-total of suffering and misery is INCREASED AND SOCIAL HAPPINESS IS DECREASED BY ALCOHOL.

IV. DOES ALCOHOL BENEFIT THE SOCIAL CHARACTER?

Anything that undermines the social health, decreases social efficiency, substitutes misery for happiness, causes twenty-five per cent of our insanity, twenty-five per cent of our poverty, and forty to ninety per cent of our crime—anything that thus blights the living and endangers the unborn cannot but lower the general social character.

Just as in the human body alcohol attacks the more delicate organs first—those controlling the more vital processes, so in the makeup of the social character, it attacks the higher faculties first.

“First moral corruption, then cerebral decadence and physical degeneration. This,” says M. Reinach, “is the scientifically established process of poisoning by alcohol.”¹⁶

The intellectual and moral ideals of society have suffered worst on account of alcohol. The character of our citizenship is not what it should be, nor what it would be were it not for the drags of insanity, poverty and crime that alcohol has fastened upon it. It is impossible to conceive civilization as having come to its own place when we consider these things. Social intellectuality has been stunted and social morality has been blighted by the use of alcohol.

We cannot close this study of "Alcohol and Social Development" more appropriately than by quoting a passage from Professor G. T. W. Patrick of the University of Iowa. He says:

If we consider the degree of civilization attained by the ancient Greeks, several stages above our own in art, and on an equal plane at least in poetry, in eloquence, and in philosophy, we are impressed with the slight progress we have made, when measured by a reasonable expectation based on the time which has elapsed and our rich intellectual inheritance. Gladstone bemoaned the lack of progress in intellectual power made by man in recent centuries. Is anyone in a position to say that this has not, in part at least, come about from meddling with ethyl alcohol.¹⁷

¹ See the "Psychology of Intemperance," Chapter III, by Partridge, 1913.

² See Study One, Sections III and IV.

³ "Alcohol," by Henry Smith Williams, M.D., LL.D., page 31.

⁴ Professor Dr. Gaule, of Zurich.

⁵ See the "Influence of Alcohol on the Opsonic Index," article by Charles Stewart, M.D., of the Sanitarium laboratory, Battle Creek, Mich. See paper read by Professor Laitinen at the Buda-Pest Alcoholic Congress as reported by Ernest Gordon in "The Anti-Alcohol Movement in Europe," page 107, etc.

⁶ See "The Anti-Alcohol Movement in Europe," page 61.

⁷ Bericht, at the Eighth Alcohol Congress.

⁸ Scientific Temperance Federation. Estimates based on physicians' reports.

⁹ Medical officer of His Majesty's Prison Service.

¹⁰ Prof. Taav Laitinen, of Finland.

¹¹ See "Winning the Fight Against Drink," by E. L. Eaton.

¹² The Kaiser's speech, in German or English, may be procured from the Methodist Temperance Society, Topeka, Kan.

¹³ For full account of these experiments made by Professor Aschaffenburg, of Germany, see "McClure's Magazine," issue of March, 1909.

¹⁴ See "Alcohol," by Henry Smith Williams, M.D., pages 137 to 143.

¹⁵ See "Summary of Investigations," of the Committee of Fifty, page 92.

¹⁶ See "The Anti-Alcohol Movement in Europe," page 95, etc.

¹⁷ From "The Quest of the Alcohol Motive," article by Professor G. T. W. Patrick, University of Iowa, in "Popular Science Monthly" for September, 1913.

CHAPTER III

THE DIRECT COST OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

A woman dolefully beating a drum and crying "Bread, bread!" precipitated the French Revolution.

The whole world is to-day crying out with the age-old pains of hunger. Within recent months there have been bread riots in Vienna, near-revolution in Great Britain, alarming unrest in France. In our own country the fact that the most anarchistic organizations have been able to move the imaginations of the laboring classes and the bitter industrial warfare, both West and East, indicate that the people are hungry—hungry for bread, hungry for clothing, hungry for better houses, hungry for education, hungry to put a foot a rung higher upon the ladder of better living. It is all very well to answer the perplexed wage-earger, "God knows," but Labor proposes to know also, and to know the way out.

The cost of living is high, largely because there is not sufficient labor employed at the production of useful things, nor sufficient legitimate employment of capital in the supplying of the legitimate wants of the people.

No Want of Raw Material

There is no want of raw material in this virgin land of ours. There is no want of labor, for even in the most

prosperous times unemployed labor tramps the streets.¹ Something stands between the raw material furnished by God as potential food, potential comfort, and Labor, hunger-thirsting for the opportunity to change this raw material into the satisfaction of its wants.

Liquor stands between. It has perverted a vast wealth of raw material, it has robbed three million men of the right to work. It has taxed the people for the price of its crime, of its poverty, of its insanity, of its endless and cumulative iniquities. It has elevated men whom the country loathes; too often given to rule over us traitors to the common good, fostered corruption, delivered our national wealth into the hands of cruel taskmasters, fought blindly against every reform, against economy, against purity of government, against efficiency of industrialism.

We propose to establish the fact that the promise of its doom will pledge anew to every man the right to work—a right to be won again through the destruction of the labor-wasting, capital-hogging liquor trust, and if we succeed in establishing this, we invite to our assistance in this warfare every Epworth Leaguer who is anxious to raise his hand against the basic iniquities, every workman who will not be tamely robbed, every housewife who desires a fair chance for her kitchen treasury.

The Waste

The nation's retail liquor bill, estimated conservatively on the basis of the final report of the Internal Revenue Department for the year ending June 30, 1913, (issued

in December, 1913), was \$2,290,548,763.00.² The capital invested in the production of the goods which cost the American people this enormous sum was \$771,516,000.³ The wealth of the United States is usually estimated at about one hundred twenty billion dollars. At sixteen per cent the entire total income from this wealth would be nearly \$20,000,000,000 each year. It is, therefore, apparent that the American people spend about one-tenth of the total national income for alcoholic beverages, and if the consequential cost of the liquor traffic be added to the sum spent over the bar, liquor is costing the American people each year a gross total of twenty per cent of all the wealth it produces from January 1 to December 31. Comparisons of the liquor bill with the national debt, with expenditures for public schools, etc., are endless and shocking, but space will not be accorded them here.⁴

The Salient Points of the Inquiry

The elements entering into industry and commerce, considering the matter from a practical rather than a philosophical standpoint, are, first, raw material and its sources; second, Labor; third, distribution; fourth, distribution of profits; fifth, the effect of the matter produced upon further demand. If a traffic decreases the demand for healthful and legitimate production, if it fails to pay a due proportion for raw material or for labor, if it represents a loss to the community in distribution, if it throws too large a proportion of the profits represented by the conversion of the raw material into

the finished product into the hands of a few men, or if its effect upon the public efficiency, public health, public order, prosperity, etc., is not good, the traffic cannot be said to constitute an asset of society. If it fails at all these points, it constitutes a menace to the very life of the nation.

Liquor does constitute such a menace. Let us test the traffic at all points of contact with society, and determine its economic effect upon the public welfare:

I. THE PRODUCER OF RAW MATERIAL

According to the abstract of the census of 1910, materials to the value of \$139,199,000 were used in the manufacture of distilled, malt and vinous liquors. These figures cover the entire cost of what is technically known as "materials," and include freight, light, heat, etc. If we accept rather the total expenditures for the leading items of raw material produced in all sections of the country actually entering into the production of the marketable goods, these figures must be set aside in favor of \$61,151,094, spent for wheat, corn, rye, barley and oats,⁵ for it is out of these grains that practically all of the whisky and beer is made. The figures upon their face look large, but in reality, they are amazingly small. The total value of these five grain crops, according to the December, 1913, report of the Department of Agriculture, was \$2,863,761,000. The total value of the grains used for liquor, therefore, barely constitutes a fair error-margin of an estimate!

The Significance Not There

Still, the significance of these figures does not lie in the total amounts spent for grains. It might be said that while the amount is comparatively small, still it is that much, and if this market were cut off from the farmer, it would be a loss which he might be able to bear, but a loss nevertheless. What is significant is the effect upon the farmer's markets of the use of this capital in the production of liquors. In twenty-six leading industries, the producer of raw material receives an average of 58.73 per cent of the entire wholesale value of the product but the liquor industry, ranking lowest among these twenty-six industries, pays only 23.53 per cent, and this percentage is not based upon the expenditures for grain, \$61,151,094. If the latter expenditure be taken as a proper basis, as perhaps it should, we find that the grain-grower received for his raw material only 9.7 per cent of the wholesale value of the liquors produced, and if the retail figures were used, the per cent would become almost infinitesimal.

What Would Become of This Capital?

Capital in America works, always. If the \$771,516,000 now invested in an industry paying this small percentage to the producer of raw material were taken out of its present employment, it would not go off somewhere and hide in a corner. It would immediately go to work at something else, and it could hardly find another industry within the bounds of the land that would not return to the farmer a fairer proportion of the amount

received for the manufactured products. If, for instance, it were to be diverted to the lumber and timber industry, it would pay the producer of that material 43.94 per cent of the amount received at wholesale for the goods produced. If it were to go into the production of clothing, it would pay the producer of raw material 88.96 per cent. And so the figures run. In the following table of industries, selected at random from the twenty-six leading manufacturing businesses of the United States, we give the per cent of the wholesale price going to the producer of raw material, and compare it with the liquor industry:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| Agricultural implements | 41.21 per cent |
| Automobiles | 52.82 per cent |
| Clothing | 88.96 per cent |
| Furniture | 45.34 per cent |
| Slaughtering and meat packing | 87.68 per cent |
| Liquors | 23.53 per cent |

There are no figures showing how much of the farmer's market is taken from him by the abominable trade in distillery slops, rotten feed, etc., but there is strong reason to believe that the brewer and distiller rob the farmer of many millions of this market.

II. THE MAN WHO LABORS

Who strikes at labor's opportunity to toil, strikes at labor's life. The manufacturers of malt, distilled and vinous liquors employed, according to the census of 1910, 62,920⁶ producing wage-earners, and paid wages to the amount of \$45,252,000.

There is nothing more certain than that these 62,920 men are not going to be added to the millions already unemployed, and this forty-five million dollars is not going to be subtracted from the pay roll of the nation, unless labor can be convinced that the ultimate and only result will be the employment of still more men and the payment of a still larger total of wages.

It requires intelligence and courage to let go the lesser and reach for the greater, and yet, when the greater is a certainty, only a foolish man holds fast to the lesser, and just as liquor wrongs the producer of raw material, so it wrongs labor. The facts are absolute, the figures unassailable. Labor received 7.63 per cent of the wholesale value of liquor produced, whereas the average for all manufacturing industries, according to the Abstract of the Census of 1910, is 16.57 per cent. The manufacturer of liquors ranks twenty-third in the proportion of the final wholesale value which goes to labor, *i.e.*, twenty-two other industries pay a larger percentage of their receipts to the man whose brawn and sweat is given freely for the day's wage. For instance, the internal revenue report for the year ending June 30, 1913, says that Illinois produced more distilled liquors than any other state in the American Union, and that she ranked third in the production of fermented liquors. Yet, though Illinois ranks high in the liquor industry, the industry does not rank high in Illinois as an employer of labor, for it employs less than two per cent of the total number of wage-earners in that state.

What a leading industry is this!

What a friend to labor!

The average number of men employed to the million of capital invested for all mechanical and manufacturing industries is 358. The manufacturer of liquors employs eighty-one. In other words, the distribution, through the entire list of manufacturing industries, of the \$771,516,000 now employing eighty-one men to the million, will increase that average of men employed to 358.

“What is to become of the men who will be thrown out of employment by prohibition?” Why, the capital now invested in the production of liquors will be invested in the production of other articles which will necessitate the reëmployment of these men in legitimate industries, and will also give employment to thousands and thousands of other men now robbed of the right to labor because of the iniquitous use to which these millions have been put.

If we were to take this \$771,516,000 and invest it as a whole in the industries mentioned in the table above, it would, in every case, employ more men. For instance, if employed in the lumber and timber business, it would demand the use of nearly 456,000 men, instead of 62,920 in the liquor industry. If it were employed in the production of boots and shoes, leather goods, etc., it would employ something over 258,000 men, instead of 62,920. And so it goes.

Or, suppose we take it from another angle. One hundred dollars spent by the consumer for liquors would give the wage-earner 3.19 days of work, and would pay

in wages only \$7.63. We give a table, using the same industries we have used before, showing how much time-employment would be given to wage-earners, and how much would be paid in wages, if this \$100 spent by the consumer were used in the buying of useful manufactured products and compare this with the liquor industry:

| | Will give employment in manufacturing: | Will pay in wages |
|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| Agricultural implements | 10.39 days | \$19.55 |
| Automobiles | 9.12 days | 19.53 |
| Boots and shoes | 11.75 days | 19.39 |
| Bread and bakery products | 7.58 days | 14.95 |
| Furniture | 16.08 days | 27.35 |
| Slaughtering and meat packing | 1.06 days | 3.03 ⁷ |
| Liquors | 3.69 days | 7.63 |

The average for all industries shown by the Abstract of the Census would be an employment of 9.63 days and a payment in wages of \$16.57 out of the \$100 spent by the consumer.

The tendency in the manufacturing of liquors is to still further decrease the number of producing wage-earners in proportion to the capital invested, and it is becoming vitally necessary to Labor that this capital be forced into a different field. Each year for some years back, has shown a small but steady decrease in the number of men employed, compared to the amount invested.

New Business For Old

"Two men cannot both be in the same place at the same time," said a Chinese general, in excusing his precipitate

retreat before the Japs; "if one must come, the other must go."

"If a brewery is closed, in its place springs up a factory. If a saloon is closed in its place comes a store," says John Mitchell, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, and the vista of happiness this statement opens to workingmen would need a Demosthenes to describe.

The immediate and marked stimulation of legitimate manufacturing industries in those states which eliminate the manufacture of beer and whisky, substantially proves that the presence of a harmful business prevents the development of a useful one.

"Ten years ago," says Congressman E. Y. Webb, of North Carolina, "I stood on historic King's Mountain and saw the smoke of thirty-eight government distilleries. I saw no macadamized roads, scarcely a schoolhouse. I saw saloons everywhere. There were only two or three factories, giving employment to two or three hundred people. Two years ago, some years after the people had driven out this curse, I stood in the same place. I found macadamized roads in almost every part of the country. I saw magnificent churches of every denomination. I found schoolhouses in every district of that county. There was not the smoke of a single distillery, but instead, I saw the smoke of forty-three of the largest cotton factories in the United States."

Mr. Charles Stelzle has tabulated the rate of increase in manufactures in prohibition states and non-prohibition states, and his figures prove that the wiping out of beer

and whisky factories means the birth of other great manufacturing enterprises employing far more men, as well as spending much more for raw material and in the distribution of its products. We give below a brief table, showing the contrasted development in the amount of capital invested in manufacturing and in the increase in the number of wage-earners employed by manufacturing establishments in prohibition and non-prohibition states during the period 1904-09:

| Prohibition states | Per cent of increase | Nonprohibition states | Per cent of increase |
|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Oklahoma | 141.0 | California | 90.1 |
| North Dakota | 103.1 | Michigan | 72.8 |
| Kansas | 76.0 | Illinois | 58.6 |
| Tennessee | 64.2 | Pennsylvania | 37.7 |
| North Carolina | 54.1 | New York | 36.9 |

III. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRODUCT

Just as liquor employs few men in growing its raw material, and few men in creating its finished product, it uses a surprisingly small force in the distribution of liquors to the people. It requires several times as many men to distribute two billion dollars' worth of clothing and food products as it does to sell the quantity of whisky and beer bringing in the same retail price. If the money now spent for liquors were spent in legitimate channels of trade, not only would more actual producing wage-earners be employed, but far more men would be needed to sell the goods on the road and handle them over the retail counter, and to attend to the distribution of the in-

creased production stimulated in allied trades. Only three-tenths of one per cent of all the freight carried by the railroads is consigned to them by the makers of liquors.⁸

IV. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROFITS

But if the liquor industry doles out very meager allowances to the producer of raw materials, to the wage-earner, and to the men who form its force of communication with the public, be assured it has profits for the wholesaler and for the retailer which are not meager. The profit for the wholesaler is estimated to be from twelve to twenty-five per cent, and when the goods come into the hands of the retailer, the price he gets by the glass is out of all proportion to the price he pays to the wholesaler. A barrel of thirty-one gallons of beer contains 496 drinks which retail at five cents a glass for more than \$20.00 and in the hands of an expert bartender, the beady head of foam adds materially to the number of drinks that may be drawn "from the wood."

Very often advertisements may be spotted in the "Want Ad." columns which read something like this:

"Wanted—A partner with \$1,500. Saloon at good location. Will split \$5,000 profit a year."⁹

The only reason why the saloon keeper does not always make a success of his business is because he has also to "split" with the policeman on the corner and to divide up with the brewer who has furnished his fixtures, etc. The undue proportion of the expenditures for liquor which finally reaches the overflowing coffers of an Adolphus Busch, or a Pabst, constitutes a real grievance

to labor. The daughters of the poor, and the wives of workingmen are lured to destruction by 100,000 vile dives, over whose "Ladies' Entrance" or "Family Door," blaze such signs as "Schlitz Beer" and "Anheuser-Busch." Through these gateways pour the members of the workman's family, and out of them pours a stream of gold which eventually goes to pay for jeweled crowns upon the broad brows of Mrs. Brewer and Mrs. Distiller, for diamond collars around their necks, and for the sensational extravagances of Miss Brewer and Miss Distiller, and Ferdy and Algy.

What though the souls and bodies of workingmen and of the women they love are poisoned! What though the heart-cries of a million children—children of labor—curse the day of their birth! On with the dance! A great industry requires the sacrifice.

V. THE ULTIMATE EFFECT UPON INDUSTRY AND LABOR

It is vitally important to consider what effect the consumption of any product will have upon the further demand. If the drinking of beer and whisky stimulates the moral character so as to make the consumer desire a better education for his children, and a better house for his family, if it causes him to desire better clothing, or refreshes his mind and body so as to cause his labor to be more efficient, the traffic is justified. Under consumption is the real cause of unemployment, and that which does more than anything else to cause under consumption is the greatest cause of unemployment among producers of raw material, wage-earners, and distributors. Where

there is a consumption of beer there is always an under consumption of everything else. Buying alcoholic beverages operates to stimulate the demand only for more alcoholic beverages.

Let us take a concrete illustration. A workingman with ten dollars in his pocket enters a saloon. He takes a glass of beer, and takes another with his friends, then treats the house, and then begins to take whisky. When he leaves the saloon, his ten dollars is gone, and he has "a load." What is the effect of this transaction upon that workingman himself? Will it tend to raise his standard of living and cause him to demand a high wage? Will it contribute to the intelligence and character with which he can back up his demands?

Probably about one dollar of the ten dollars which he has spent goes to the government for revenue. Possibly about thirty cents goes to the farmer for raw material, and a little less to the workingman for labor. The remainder of it goes to the saloon keeper, his bartender, the brewer, the distiller; part of it goes to the politicians who give "protection," part of it goes to the war fund with which "the traffic" fights the will of the people in dry states and communities.

So far as society, of which the man is a member, is concerned, so far as his class is concerned, so far as his family is concerned, and so far as he himself is concerned, the value of that ten dollars, with the slight exceptions we have noted, is absolutely lost, and the only net proceeds to him from the expenditure of his wages

is evil. That ten dollars will not again represent wealth until it is spent for something useful.

Let us elaborate a little further. The man goes home with his "load." He finds his wife gone to ask help from his sober neighbor. She has become a charge upon the community. One of the children is ill, and must go to the free hospital—another charge on the community. Still another child, born since the man became alcoholized, is an idiot, and can no longer be kept out of the state institution—another charge upon society. An elder son, reared in a drinking home, is in the penitentiary, but, unfortunately, he did not go there until he had started a family which will increase and perpetuate the burden his father's addiction to drink has placed upon the country.

Why the High Cost of Living

It is the burden upon society of such men as this upon the one hand, and of such men as those who sold him his liquor upon the other hand that causes the high cost of living. The whole nation—every individual in it—lives upon the results of the labor of workingmen who produce valuable things. But the man who makes liquor produces nothing of value, consequently he must live upon the labor of someone else, and the man who drinks liquor, having his ability to create values lessened, and becoming liable to constitute a charge upon the nation, also lives to some extent upon the labor of others.

How long must the makers of legitimate products be faced with the necessity of earning their own living and

in addition to that, of earning the living of brewers, distillers, bartenders, saloon keepers, drunks, dependents, insane, idiots, criminals? How long?

¹In "average times" the number of men, women, boys and girls, desiring employment and unable to find it in America is estimated to be about three millions.

²This estimate was made by an able statistician, Mr. Fred D. L. Squires, editor of the "American Advance."

³See Statistical Abstract, Census of 1910.

⁴See notes of Study One.

⁵See Study I, Section II. These grains are selected because they represent crops grown in all parts of the country. The estimate of \$61,151,094 does not include expenditures for hops, largely used in the manufacture of beer, or for molasses, largely used in the production of whisky, as these crops interest the growers of only a few states.

⁶This does not include the workmen employed by the malt industry. If these were included, the figures would be 64,680.

⁷While the slaughtering and meat-packing industry pays relatively little in wages, a reference to the former table will show that it pays a very large percentage for raw materials. Liquor pays a small percentage to both labor and the producer of raw materials.

⁸In 1910, the total tonnage of all freight was 1,745,324,828, while the freight tonnage of wines, liquors and beers was only 6,785,150.

⁹Advertisements such as this may be found very frequently in the "Business Chances" column of the "New York World."

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSEQUENTIAL COST OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

Surely society has been wronged enough when the producer of raw material is wronged, the laborer is wronged, the distributor is wronged, and when vast sums are extorted from that part of the people least able to bear the loss only to go into the bursting coffers of our modern Pharaohs. But the liquor demon is not satisfied when its own maw is gorged. Like Ehud, it tenders the license-tribute with one hand, and with the other, sinks deep its blade into the vitals of society, until "the haft goeth in also." "Commerce," says Perry, "is an exchange of goods for the mutual benefit of the respective owners."¹ The sale of liquor is an exchange of goods. What does the seller get? He gets money, which represents labor. What does the consumer get, and what does society get?

I. LIQUOR AND INDUSTRIAL FITNESS

For one thing, the man who drinks gets a lessened productive capacity, and society gets less as a product of his industry. If the drinker be an officer worker and is in the habit of taking one glass of beer daily, he decreases

his efficiency, according to experiments of Professors Bergman and Kraeplin and Drs. Mayer and Kinz, seven per cent. The mental disturbance produced by even one glass of beer persists, in many cases, as long as thirty-six hours, and if the consumption is as much as five pints of beer daily, the average efficiency of the consumer is lessened forty per cent.

And if the man work with his hands, he gets off scarcely better. In another study,² have been cited the experiments of Professor Durig, and the facts brought to light by walking contests in Germany, and in almost innumerable investigations. The effect of alcohol, even in the most moderate doses, upon muscular efficiency, is so well recognized to-day that no intelligent trainer of athletes permits the use of liquor by his charges. Experiments conducted by Dr. T. D. Crothers, an eminent surgeon of Connecticut, and by Kraeplin of Heidelberg University, develop the fact that one stein of beer very often impairs the sense of sight, hearing, taste and feeling fifty per cent, and so true has this been found in practice that the railroads of the United States invariably prohibit, not only the use of liquors while the men are on duty, but their use at any time, and further provide that the frequenting of places where liquors are sold shall be "due cause for dismissal." The former president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe has testified that "nowhere else" in the world may be found such a high type of efficiency among railroad workmen, and further says that this is to be attributed to the fact that Kansas, where the headquarters of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe are

located, does not license the saloon. Moderate drinkers who leave off their beer find that soon they are able to do twenty-five per cent more work in a given time.

Professor Helenius, of Helsingfors, tells of a case where the manager of a copper mine at Knockmahom found that after one thousand of his employees had taken the pledge, their productive efficiency increased by nearly twenty-five thousand dollars annually.

The loss to society through the lessened efficiency of the laborer, whether his labor be mental or physical, is enormous, and a very similar effect upon industry may be traced as the result of liquor domination in those cities where the trade is centered. Indeed, the effect upon commercial life in such cities of the presence of great alcohol manufacturing establishments, might almost be called commercial intoxication.

Harry S. Warner estimates that there are in round numbers twenty million habitual and irregular drinkers in America.³ Says this careful and conscientious writer: "This places in the drinking class two-thirds of the adult men and one-tenth of the adult women." Very probably nine-tenths of these twenty millions are wage or salary earners. If their ability to produce values is decreased an average for the entire eighteen million drinking workers of ten per cent, and their average wage be estimated at six hundred dollars annually, the loss reaches the enormous total of \$1,080,000,000. We offer these figures in a suggestive way, and point out in illustration of the fact that we are not sensational, the absence of any estimate for time lost because of drunkenness.

It is apparent that a very large and definite loss to the community proceeds from the decrease of working efficiency because of moderate drinking. To take a concrete, individual example as an instance: If ten per cent only of an office force of one hundred, representing a weekly pay roll of two thousand dollars, have their working efficiency lessened seven per cent (as a result of only one glass of beer per capita daily) the net loss to their employer is fourteen dollars per week, or one hundred sixty-eight dollars annually, without considering all the time lost because of poor health.

II. LIQUOR AND LIFE

If the time of the worker and his efficiency mean so much to the community, what must be set down as the loss to society because of the liquor traffic's gory record of death and shortened life! Bunnell Phelps, in "The Mortality of Alcohol," estimates that alcohol causes the death of 65,897 adults annually in the United States. Phelps, in his scorn for the propagandist and the "amateur," has undoubtedly laid himself open to a charge of underestimating grossly. Indeed, so conservative are his figures that the liquor men seized upon them with avidity as soon as issued. Let us accept them as a rock-bottom basis upon which to estimate the loss to the community because of alcohol's slain. Sociologists reckon the life of the average sober, producing adult as worth twenty thousand dollars to the community. This represents an earning capacity of six hundred dollars per year. The annual death of 65,897 individuals, worth

twenty thousand dollars each, represents a loss to the community of \$131,794,000 each year.

But how futile are such figures! What if one of these murdered ones were a blighted Washington! What if a possible saviour of his country were sent to a premature grave by liquor! The loss in such a case would be absolutely incalculable.

Whether alcohol murders sixty thousand or a hundred thousand each year is not so important as this: "Alcohol robs America of 260,000,000 years of efficient life in each generation." Figure it out for yourself:

The moderate drinker, twenty years of age, may be expected to die at fifty-one. The total abstainer may be expected to die at sixty-four.

Here are thirteen years, the best, the most productive years of a man's life, the best years of the best men, for we are dealing, not with soaks, but with moderate drinkers, struck by the hand of death. If there are, as Warner says, twenty million drinkers in America, and we give them all credit for being moderate drinkers, nevertheless, alcohol takes 260,000,000 years of life from each generation as its toll. This is taking twenty years as the average age at which men begin to drink, but it is very probable that the average is lower.

No wonder that Sir Andrew Clark, physician to Queen Victoria, felt the impulse "to give up everything and go forth upon a holy crusade against this enemy of the race."

III. THE CRIME LOSS

The consequential loss of the traffic to America cannot be fairly estimated with the item of crime omitted. The cost of crime in the United States has been estimated by various sociologists at about one billion dollars. According to the conservative Committee of Fifty, reported by Koren⁴ an investigation of 13,402 cases showed that approximately fifty per cent were due to drink. If these estimates be correct, there is a consequential loss to the community of five hundred million dollars annually, and it is very doubtful if these conservative figures approximate the truth. Figures in regard to arrests in prohibition territory before and after the banishing of the saloons, tend to show that fifty per cent is at least not an excessive figure. For instance, in seventeen Alabama cities and towns, there were 24,554 arrests in the wet year of 1907, compared to 12,796 in the dry year of 1908. Where enforcement of the law has been particularly rigid the decrease has often reached seventy-five per cent. Booker T. Washington⁵ says that among the Negroes, prohibition has been shown to greatly decrease the number of crimes, except where it is not enforced, when no appreciable difference is shown.

The cost of a crime is a very illusive thing. On Monday, March 18, 1912, Fred Boneham, a boy under age, started from Chicago to the Illinois Penitentiary to serve twenty-five years for manslaughter. He was not a boy of criminal instincts. His employers testified to his consistent honesty and truthfulness, and it was found, during the trial, that for years he had shared with his

widowed mother and an older sister the hardships of poverty, and had turned his meager earnings into the common fund for their support. On December 2, 1911, Fred Boneham met three companions in the Pickwick Café, near the corner of Cottage Grove Avenue and 30th Street. All drank. Before the evening was over, they had held up a man and his wife, on the street, and had committed a particularly atrocious murder.

Very probably the cost of convicting Fred Boneham was five thousand dollars, but the cost of this crime did not end there. The loss of twenty-five productive years must be added. Very possibly, his mother and older sister will become objects of charity and further tax the community. And why? Because Fred Boneham was a degenerate? No! Because the city of Chicago, for one thousand dollars paid in hand, allowed the Pickwick Café to turn Fred Boneham, an honest, hard-working youth, into a criminal. It might be said that, if the Pickwick Café had not been licensed, this boy might have gone with his three companions to a "joint," and the result would have been the same. But the probabilities are against a decent, self-respecting, working boy's going into a joint. At least, in such an event, it could not be truthfully said that Chicago "stood by consenting."

IV. THE COST OF ALCOHOL-CAUSED INSANITY

There is no phase of the alcohol problem which involves a wider range of honest opinion than the amount of insanity due to the effect upon the race of the common use of alcoholic liquors. Dr. Rosanoff, of Clark University, in 1909 concluded that twenty-five per cent,

or the insanity of 48,605 persons, in the United States could be made chargeable to the use of alcohol by themselves or others. The cost of caring for this twenty-five per cent of the total number of insane in the nation is about \$5,500,000 annually. Again, the direct cost does not represent as large a loss to the community as the non-productivity of these insane persons. And the cost is being vastly increased, owing to the increased amount of insanity, and to the greater humanity of the age which demands better care for the unfortunates of the community. "A more liberal attitude toward public institutions," says Dr. George A. Zellar, of the Board of Administration, state of Illinois, "is causing a greater number of insane to seek their shelter."⁵ "Alcohol, as a contributing cause of insanity, undoubtedly plays a very great role in increasing the population of our institutions, how great, we have no means of more than roughly estimating,"⁵ says Dr. C. F. Read, assistant superintendent of the Kankakee (Ill.) State Hospital. He continues, "We know that it is a cause of degeneracy and epilepsy in the descendants, and doubtless precipitates other kinds of insanity not strictly alcoholic." Dr. Edward A. Foley, of the Jacksonville (Ill.) State Hospital, intimates that the insane asylums do not contain all those mentally affected by alcohol, for he says in a letter: "My opinion is that all those who use alcohol excessively are diseased mentally."⁶

V. THE COST OF VICE

A very large item in the consequential cost of alcoholic consumption is to be found in the item of vice, an item

which we do not care to treat at length here. Very possibly, the chief cause of insanity to-day may be found in those diseases resulting from vicious habits on the part of the sufferer or of his antecedents. The whole story is a sorry and revolting tale, but one which has filled the entire American people with a heartfelt determination to find a remedy. A perusal of the report of the Chicago Vice Commission, or, for that matter, the report of the Minneapolis or the Philadelphia Commissions, or of any one of the several excellent books written by Miss Jane Addams, reveals conclusively that no remedy for the vice problem, nothing that would wipe out its enormous economic tax upon America, may be found that does not provide for the elimination of the saloon. But there is no more reason why we should go into detail in connection with the vice phase of the issue than that we should go into detail regarding any other moral or civic problem before the American people for in every single instance where there is a question of right or wrong civics, of right or wrong morals, the saloon may be found there, and always on the wrong side. It cannot be ignored in the consideration or discussion of the question of accidents, of housing, of the inferior classes, of community conditions which do not conduce to the proper rearing of children, of child labor, of political corruption, of charity, of the deterioration of character and moral standards among women of the first and third classes.

At every point of contact of the liquor traffic and the alcohol habit with society, society suffers. When alcohol touches the family, the tendency is for the family to

disintegrate and deteriorate. When alcohol touches the individual, the tendency is for the individual to start down the hill, and through the family and the individual, society which licensed the saloon feels the heavy hand of its Frankenstein.

In July, 1908, Patrolman George O'Connor, of the Louisville (Ky.) police force, reported to headquarters that he had found three children slowly starving to death at their home. The children were eight, six and three years of age, the youngest being unable to rise from the bed, while the other two were sick and emaciated. They told the officer that they had lived on a five-cent box of crackers for three days. Upon instruction, O'Connor swore out a warrant for the arrest of the father, and proceeded to execute it. He found the father drinking in a saloon.

Such an incident needs no elaboration. To any thinking man the whole story of society's loss and of society's culpability lies upon its face. And such is the record of alcohol's daily doings.

As the *News* of Joliet, Ill., suggestively said in its issue of March 23, 1908:

The contribution of the brewers for the week end Saturday night to the prosperity and long life of Joliet was one broken leg, two men cut to pieces on the railroad, one suicide, one murder, an elevator and a factory burned, a dwelling house and another factory set on fire—a rich crop!

On the Credit Side

But then, it might be said that over against this should be set a credit memorandum. We should credit it with

its \$45,000,000 of wages, and with its \$139,000,000 spent for raw material, for light, for heat, for freight, etc. We might even credit it with its \$230,146,332.14 of bloody revenue. But does the liquor traffic pay the revenue? Mr. Finley C. Hendrickson, of Maryland, a high authority upon constitutional law, tells who really pays the tax in the following trenchant paragraphs:

Who really pays the tax, the brewers and distillers? Not one cent of it. Drinkers everywhere pay it and only drinkers and those who drink the hardest and are least able, pay the most tax.

A woman bends over the washtub. Her husband is down in the saloon drinking, helping to pay the tax.

A young man is taking his first drink. He is beginning to pay the tax. He may be a drunkard in a few years and then he will pay more tax.

An employe has just been discharged for drinking. He was paying the tax. He joins the large army of the unemployed.

A husband is selling off some of his best furniture and the family is moving into a stuffy flat. What is the trouble? He has been paying the tax.

A constable is ringing his bell. He is going to sell some household goods for rent. The owner has been paying the tax at the corner saloon.

A lot of noisy ruffians are in a saloon drinking. Paying the tax.

John Barleycorn does not pay the tax. He is merely the alchemist who touches the blood and sorrow of the people with his hellish stone and brings a part of the coin, reeking with misery and filth as a bribe to the treasury.

¹In a great many states the words, "For Value Received," or "In Consideration Of," must be inserted in notes, deeds, etc., or else they are not binding. The law and the people recognize the fact that only an exchange of valuable things constitutes true trade.

²Study Two.

³"Social Welfare and the Liquor Problem," page 100.

⁴Summary of Investigations, page 122.

⁵In a letter to Methodist Temperance Society.

⁶The large amount of insanity taken care of by private institutions and insanity of a temporary nature should be taken into consideration here.

CHAPTER V

UNCLE SAM, JOHN BARLEYCORN & CO., OR THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The first time the United States soiled its statute books with a liquor revenue law was March 3, 1791. This law was replaced by one of May 8, 1792. These measures were part of Alexander Hamilton's policy, which, as a whole, was so successful in putting the nation on a sound financial basis. Thomas Jefferson became president in 1801 on a pledge to repeal Hamilton's excise laws. These laws had already fulfilled their purpose, and, as promised, they were practically all repealed. Among them was this first law providing for internal revenue from intoxicating liquors.

Our next dabbling in liquor blood money occurred between August 2, 1813, and December 31, 1817. This will be readily recognized as the period of our second war with Great Britain. We needed money. Internal revenue was one of the easiest ways of getting it, so on August 2, 1813, a tax was placed on intoxicating liquors.¹ This was amended somewhat December 23, 1813. It was repealed December 31, 1817.

From 1817 to July 1, 1862, our hands were clean so far as liquor revenue was concerned. Again we needed

money for the purpose of prosecuting a great war, so, by an act of that date, we placed an internal revenue tax on distilled and malt liquors. This measure initiated the liquor revenue system under which we have done business down to the present.

I. THE AGREEMENT

Partnership Contract.—This agreement between John Barleycorn, party of the first part, and Uncle Sam, party of the second part, witnesseth:

The foregoing is the opening section from an imaginary contract between our federal government and the liquor traffic. Of course there is no such actual contract in existence. If Uncle Sam could be called before us, he would emphatically deny that he had entered into any such contract with John Barleycorn. But as a matter of fact our internal revenue system makes Uncle Sam and John Barleycorn partners. Here are some of the stipulations of their contract:

For benefits received, John Barleycorn agrees to pay to Uncle Sam or order—

1. \$1.10 for every gallon of spirituous liquors, and
2. \$1.00 for every barrel of malt liquor manufactured:
3. \$25 annually for every spirituous liquor retail shop, and
4. \$20 annually for every malt liquor retail shop.

In return for which, Uncle Sam agrees to insure John Barleycorn—

1. Permission to carry on his business;
2. The protection of government machinery; and
3. The use of all means at his command for the promotion of the liquor industry.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE CONTRACT

The conditions of this contract on John Barleycorn's part are very simple. They are all financial. By the revenue act of July 1, 1862, the tax on spirituous liquors was fixed at twenty cents per gallon, but was raised to \$2.00 by the close of 1864; in 1875 it was reduced to ninety cents, where it remained until the time of the Spanish-American War, when it was changed to \$1.10 per gallon, at which figure it has since remained. The retailer's tax was fixed at \$25 annually.

The revenue on malt liquors (beer, ale, porter, etc.,) was placed at \$1.00 a barrel; this was temporarily reduced to sixty cents in 1863, but was restored the following year. It has since remained at that figure except during the Spanish-American War, when it was temporarily raised to \$2.00 a barrel.² The retailer's tax was fixed at \$20.

Under this agreement the liquor traffic has paid to our federal government an immense amount of money. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, it paid into the federal treasury about two hundred and thirty million dollars.³ This constitutes about seventy per cent of our entire internal revenue. It is over twenty-five per cent of all the receipts of our federal government.

It has sometimes caused Uncle Sam trouble to collect his part of the profits of the partnership, and it has always required an elaborate revenue machinery, but, on the whole, John Barleycorn has been fairly willing to pay his liquor tax, for it has brought him great favors in return.

UNCLE SAM'S PART OF THE CONTRACT

A. Permission

Internal revenue means that Uncle Sam gives John Barleycorn permission to manufacture and sell intoxicating liquors. It means that the federal government has given the liquor traffic permission to rob the American people of a vast sum of money—last year about two billion, three hundred million dollars. It means that we have legalized the liquor business. It means that our government has allowed a perverted human appetite to be capitalized. It means that John Barleycorn has Uncle Sam's permission to carry on the most criminal business that has blackened the pages of history.

Our government has done this—has fulfilled its part of the contract, because of the profits it has received.

Some claim that accepting revenue from the liquor traffic does not constitute permission. They say it is a fine levied upon a business that is recognized to be bad; that it brands a business as needing control. It may be true that license involves a principle of regulation, but it is still entirely true that it means PERMISSION: permission to continue in business—whether regulated or unregulated.

As a matter of simple fact, however, we must remember that the internal revenue system was not introduced as a measure of regulation or control. It was a war-finance measure purely.

Liquor revenue does not constitute a fine. The two are entirely distinct. Revenue carries with it the permission to continue the business on the one condition of paying the tax. A fine is a punishment levied for doing a thing that is prohibited, or vice versa.

Internal revenue means PERMISSION.

B. Protection

is another condition upon which Uncle Sam receives about one-third of all the profits of John Barleycorn's business. He must protect him in his business. Internal revenue means that our government must put its machinery at the disposal of the liquor industry. Nor should we maintain that, under the circumstances, this is wrong. Indeed, to do otherwise would be wrong. If a business is fit to license, and if that business pays a large part of the government's expenses, it is right that the government should protect it. The wrong is not in the protection, but in the system that puts us under obligation to protect a BAD business.

This, as an illustration of how Uncle Sam has protected John Barleycorn in his business: Some of our states have decided that the liquor traffic is detrimental to their best interests, and have prohibited it. Under the terms of his contract, Uncle Sam has been forced to issue licenses to sell liquor in those states. Not only has

he issued licenses whereby the laws of those states were broken; he has refused to use his records to convict such violators of the law, and he has forbidden revenue officers to testify in state courts against anyone who has paid the federal tax. This is a plain case of protecting the liquor industry. But, of course, he can do nothing else, because Uncle Sam is under contract to John Barleycorn.

C. Promotion

Uncle Sam has been active in promoting the business of John Barleycorn. Why shouldn't he? The more booze sold, the more money the government gets out of the bargain. It is simply good business policy for the government to help increase his partner's trade.

It has been the policy of our secretaries of state to order our consular agents in foreign lands to investigate the drinking habits of the people with a view to increasing the consumption of American liquors in those countries.⁴

There is hardly a great convention of the liquor manufacturers or dealers at which the government does not have its representatives present to insure them of its friendly wishes and desire of coöperation in expanding the industry. The instance of Secretary of Agriculture Wilson acting as honorary president at the Brewers' Congress at Chicago (1911) is too fresh in our minds to need more than bare recalling. These are mentioned simply to show that Uncle Sam has realized all along that he is under obligation, and that it is to his financial profit to help John Barleycorn sell more intoxicating liquor.

These are some of the conditions of the contract. This is what the internal revenue on liquor means to our government. It means that the government is partly responsible for the liquor traffic's results. It means that the government has been willing to be thus responsible because of the financial gain it has received. Some folks do not like to hear our relation to the liquor traffic referred to as a "partnership." In some senses it may not be, but in more senses than one, as we have tried to point out, it does mean partnership in all its essential qualities.

Our "covenant with death" and our "agreement with hell" must be annulled.

Effect of the Partnership

1. Upon the trade itself.

Before the internal revenue license system was adopted, every person who so desired was free to engage in the manufacture or sale of liquor, except in a few cases where local authorities charged a license fee for selling. After July 1, 1862, it was necessary to secure a license from our federal government either to manufacture or to sell. Likewise, this action gave states and cities their cues. They too began to require licenses for those who desired to engage in the business.

This decreased the number of those who could engage in the liquor business. Places which sold intoxicating liquor became fewer and more specialized. Instead of every grocer and other shopmen handling liquor as a side issue, it was now handled only by those engaged

specifically in the liquor business. This was the beginning of the era of "saloons" as we know them to-day.

This has led to two striking results in the liquor industry:

(a) It has forced the liquor trade into better organization; and this for two reasons; first, in order that the license money required by the government should not interfere seriously with profits. It means that there must be more aggressive trade policies. It was on November 12 of the same year in which the liquor revenue act was passed that the United States Brewers' Association was organized in New York. This organization has continued to spread and grow until the liquor trust is one of the greatest and most powerful in the world.⁵ The fact that license under the better trade policies of a stronger organization has not interfered with profits is proven by the fact that the liquor people have never since desired the removal of the tax. Indeed it has been a vital element in their success.

But more than this, liquor sellers soon found out that not only could their former profits be maintained under license, but that the sanction obtained in the revenue contract added such respectability to their business that with aggressive organization the trade could be developed as they had never even dreamed of before. So the liquor trade organized for aggressive trade conquests. The result is that the per capita consumption of alcoholic liquors rose from a little over two gallons in 1863 to over seven gallons in 1870, while to-day it has reached the appalling figure of about twenty-three gallons.⁶ The per capita

consumption of absolute alcohol has grown thirty-seven per cent in this time.

When the revenue law was passed, some of the leaders of Congress thought a tax would decrease the consumption of liquor. No doubt they were honest, but cold figures show that they were terribly mistaken.

It is interesting at this point to notice that this movement in the liquor trade has also helped along the modern tendency toward concentration. According to census reports there were in the United States in 1870, 1,972 establishments for the manufacture of malt liquors. To-day there are 1,414. This is not only a large decrease in number, but when we consider the infinitesimal amount of beer manufactured by these 1,972 establishments in 1870 compared to the deluge of hop juice that is being poured forth to-day, the concentration is even more marked.

In 1870 there was but \$49,000,000 invested in the manufacture of liquor. To-day it has reached the enormous sum of \$771,000,000.

Organization for Protection

(b) In the second place, the fact that the revenue system brought the traffic into very close relation with government finances, with government policies, and with politics, led the traffic to organize for the purpose of looking after its own interest in legislation. This was done. The temporary president of the United States Brewers' Association suggested in 1862 "Unity is Strength" as a good motto. It was openly stated that the

purpose of their organization was to check the advance of fanatical temperance movement, and to protect their own interests. Not only has the traffic vigorously protested against all legislation unfavorable to itself; it has just as vigorously gone after legislation favorable to its own interests. At the very first meeting of the United States Brewers' Association an "Agitation Committee" was appointed to visit Congress to look after their interests. This was the beginning of the infamous "Liquor Lobby" which has been so effective in its work.⁷ In 1913, when Congress passed the Webb bill, it was recognized as the first positive victory the "drys" had won in Congress for half a century.

Thus we have to-day in the liquor industry one of our largest and most powerful trusts. Its members are bound together by the gripping selfishness of their graft. It has an efficient organization. It dominates politics. It is mixed up in governmental policies. Because it furnishes a large part of our federal income, it has the government under deep obligation. Its first experiments were in federal politics only. But the pupil was apt. The principle was soon applied to state, county, and especially to municipal relationship, so that to-day the liquor trust has a vital hold on almost every department of our civic and political organization.⁸

Of course, it is not claimed that all of this powerful organization is the result of the liquor revenue system. Possibly the liquor traffic would have grown powerful without it. The thing here claimed is that the mantle of respectability thrown around its shoulders by the

revenue system first gave it recognition as a regular, legitimate industry; that it was the pressure put upon it by the internal revenue system that first forced it into a close organization; that the protecting power of the federal machinery which was gained by the internal revenue contract has been one of the potent factors in its development; and that the policy of promotion, made profitable to the government by the revenue system, has been a powerful adjunct to its own policies of trade expansion.

2. The effect upon the federal government.

(a) Morality and religion, science, industry, in the light of modern knowledge of the subject, have passed sentence of death on alcohol.

But our federal government—which is ourselves expressed through the men who administer federal law and operate federal machinery—is far behind the times. It lags behind science, industry, education, and all the progressive movements, and bestows upon the liquor traffic both PERMISSION AND SANCTION. It protects the organized traffic in poisons as its truly begotten and dearly beloved child—which it is.

It is not possible to believe that we, in the capacity of government, would assume an attitude toward this “colossal crime of earth” so different from that which we take toward it in every other social capacity, were it not that THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC PAYS ONE FOURTH OF ALL OUR GOVERNMENT INCOME.

(b) In the second place, the revenue derived from liquor has introduced a paradoxical situation in the at-

titude of the different departments of the federal government toward the liquor traffic. The judicial department has always taken a firm stand against the liquor business. The United States Supreme Court has declared it to be destructive of the health and morals of society. It has declared that the state has power to restrict it, or even to prohibit it entirely if it considers it to its best interests to do so. For example in *Crowley vs. Christensen*, 137 U. S. Rep. 86, the court, through Justice Field says:

There are few sources of crime and misery equal to the dram shop. * * * There is no inherent right in any person thus to sell intoxicating liquor by retail; it is not the privilege of a citizen of a state or of a citizen of the United States.

But, on the other hand, in spite of this attitude of the Supreme Court, the executive and legislative departments have, since the Civil War, tenaciously protected this same vicious monster, this begetter of crime and misery. And all this because of the revenue for which we are dependent upon the liquor traffic.

Again, internal revenue has arrayed the federal government against states which have tried to protect themselves by prohibitory laws. Uncle Sam would not do this but for the "blood money" which John Barleycorn doles into his treasury.

(c) The federal government has never been corrupted except in the advocacy of some special interest. The greatest special interest in the United States is the special interest through which the liquor traffic, which has no "inherent right" is granted an arbitrary government right. The corrupt political conditions upon which

both the liquor power and other vast special-privilege combinations depend for continued life can only exist by coöperation, and by the production of a corrupt vote.

"Crooked business" is under the necessity of making use of some power subservient to its control and capable of bringing about dishonest legislation and timid administration. It must enlist, organize and drill perfectly a host of voting mercenaries who must always be ready for the defense. The enlistment of these forces must be through some degenerating influence.

The problem was solved, read to hand. The federal-taxed, federal-licensed liquor traffic had the degenerating institution with which to create and hold this mercenary voting force. As both the liquor traffic and "crooked business" rest upon special permission, not of the people, but of the politicians in control of the government, they are natural affinities; interests of like rights, like perils, and like policies of defense.

In return for the use of this mobile mercenary vote, shifted readily from party to party as its interests and the interests of its allies might dictate, the liquor traffic has received continued protection. The \$230,000,000 of federal revenue and the shifting liquor vote have rested with crushing weight upon the lips of Congress, so that, for fifty years, that legislative body dared not raise its voice. It has rested with equal force upon the lips of brave leaders of the people, ready enough to champion human rights in all other things, but held silent on this one matter by the tons of liquor gold and myriads of liquor votes.

Such a power is too great to exist in company with liberty. The primary necessity of the time is the removal of this obstruction which bars the way to legislative and administrative control by the people. The political power of the liquor traffic must be destroyed, and that destruction involves the destruction of the traffic itself, for it rests not upon a right, but upon a politically created and politically maintained special privilege.

After All Does It Pay Uncle Sam?

Perhaps something should be said about the investment. Taking everything into consideration, does it pay the government? The drink bill of the nation last year was about two billion three hundred million dollars. This is the direct cost to the consumers. Besides this there is an enormous consequential cost; the cost of prosecuting the criminals produced by the saloon; the cost of taking care of the paupers and lunatics caused by drink; the loss of productive life, efficiency, etc.; and the loss caused by having millions of capital tied up in the least productive of all industries.⁹

There is no way of exactly estimating this consequential cost. Many conservative scholars think it is as great as the direct cost. We doubt not that is true. Taking it on this basis, the total cost of the liquor business to the American people last year was over four billion, six hundred million dollars.

Most of the consequential cost is borne by some other than the federal part of the government—state, county or municipal. If none of this cost fell upon the federal

government, then it would simply be a case of that branch of the government saving \$230,000,000 out of the total enormous loss.

But we must remember that we belong to all these different branches of the government. No matter which one pays the cost; if one of them licenses a business for \$230,000,000 which entails a \$2,000,000,000 loss (the estimated consequential cost) on one or all the other branches, it is an enormous loss to us—who, after all, pay all the expenses of all the branches of government.

But the federal government itself pays a considerable portion of this consequential cost—so much that, considering the income and expense of that branch alone, it is more than likely a losing proposition.

And all this takes no account whatever of the moral implications. As a moral investment, it is the most stupendous blunder of the ages—as Dr. Clarence True Wilson calls it, “A Judas Iscariot deal in morals.”

¹ It must be remembered that direct taxation was forbidden to the federal government.

See Fehlandt, “A Century of Drink Reform in the United States.”

² There are rumors that the federal tax on beer will again be doubled and that the brewers will not object.

³ See Study Three, Part One.

⁴ The present attitude of the State Department of the federal government seems to be very different.

⁵ The “National Protective Association,” a distillers’ organization, was formed in 1886. Its place is now taken by the “National Wholesale Liquor Dealers’ Association.”

⁶ The early census figures are not very reliable. They are, however, the only available data.

⁷ See Fehlandt, “A Century of Drink Reform in the United States.”

⁸ See Study One.

⁹ See Study Three.

CHAPTER VI

ALCOHOL IN THE MELTING POT, OR THE RELATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC TO CITIZENSHIP

The story is told that once a certain king from Asia Minor visited the king of Sparta. When he came into that renowned city, he was much surprised to note the absence of walls which, at that time, were considered necessary for the defense of every place. He remarked to the king this fact, at which the Spartan chief replied, "To-morrow you shall see the walls of Sparta." On the following day the visiting king was asked to review the Spartan armies, and, as those proud legions marched by, the old Spartan king remarked, "There are the walls of Sparta. Every soldier is a brick."

The times when cities or nations protected themselves with walls built of wood or stone are past, but every city, every state, every nation, must still have its walls, just as truly as did the cities of those other days. And these walls, as in the case of Sparta, to be the strongest must consist of clean, brave, strong men and women.

The strength of our country to-day does not lie in its fertile valleys, nor rich mountains, nor does it reside in our power to conserve its towering trees and leaping streams, and to turn them into the development of our

industries. The strength of our nation to-day rests solely on the strength of character of the average citizen. He is the "brick" of which our walls are composed.

Thus, it is all important in a series of studies of this sort, to know what effect the alcohol traffic has upon the development of citizenship. This is the purpose of the present study.

There are, in general, three classes of candidates for citizenship in this nation—three great classes of material from which we must develop citizens. We will consider them in order, trying to find out something of the relationship of the liquor traffic to their development.

I. OUR IMMIGRANTS

constitute a great class of candidates for citizenship. This nation was founded by immigrants, and immigrants have constituted the basis of its development. The immigration of the early part of our colonial and national life has undoubtedly been a great blessing. The men and ideals that Europe gave us have been molded in the world's melting pot, and the product is the American Citizen—the kingliest man that God and historical forces have yet evolved!

It is impossible to understand properly the tremendous influence exerted by the liquor traffic upon the development of these people into citizenship until we have first noticed three facts in regard to present-day immigration itself:

1. The whole aspect of this question is changed because of the ever increasing multitudes of foreign peoples

who are seeking homes within our shores. Since 1850 about thirty-nine million foreigners have come to this land of promise. In the decade 1900 to 1910, nine million came, breaking all previous records. And a significant fact is that this nine million constituted more than half the entire increase in population in that decade.¹

In 1910, 35.2 per cent of our population were foreign-born or children of foreign-born. "In only fourteen out of fifty cities having over 100,000 inhabitants in 1910 did native whites of native parentage constitute as much as one half the population. The proportion exceeded three-fifths in only four cities * * * In twenty-two of the cities of this class * * * less than one-third of the inhabitants were native whites of native parentage."² But taking the country as a whole, rural districts as well as urban, small cities as well as large, these people constitute over one-third of the population of the United States to-day.

2. Besides this, these people increase much faster than native-stock Americans. The Immigration Commission, after investigation in typical sections of the country found that there were over twice as many childless married women among native-stock Americans as among foreigners; while the average number of children among foreigners was over twice as great as among Americans.

3. But most significant of all is the quality of our present immigration, as compared with our early immigration. Draw a line diagonally across Europe, from

northeast to southwest ; on the north of this line you have the British Isles—England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales ; the Scandinavian nations—Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland ; Germany and Holland. These nations gave us the men and the ideals that have been molded into the present-day American citizen. On the south of this line you have Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Montenegro, Servia and Greece—from these nations we are getting the men and ideals that must be worked up into the future American type.

The Old Immigrant from northwest Europe was exactly the sort of material that we needed to work into American institutions and democracy. The man from southeastern Europe, in many respects, seems to be the very sort of material that we do not need. The Old Immigrant was usually Protestant ; the new, when he is of any religious affiliation, is usually Catholic—Roman or Greek—and there is no denying that the former works into a genuine democracy better than the latter. The Old Immigrant was characterized by his high ideals of home and social life ; the New Immigrant is marked by his low ideals of these same things. The Old Immigrant was apt to be somewhat educated ; with the new, illiteracy is the rule. The Old Immigrant, in all his burning desire for religion, civic and economic freedom, was extremely conservative. The highly emotional and artistic temperament of the New Immigrant makes him extremely susceptible to revolutionary and anarchistic influences.

When we consider the enormous and ever-increasing hordes in which these people are coming, their greater

relative fecundity, and the fact that the governmental and social conditions from which they come make them inferior as citizenship material in a democracy like ours, we see how imperative it is to take out of their lives every force that degrades them and makes it impossible for them to become patriotic and efficient American citizens.

This must not be construed as derogatory to these races, as such. The fact that these people are inferior as citizenship material is not due to the fact that they are inherently inferior as races, but to the conditions under which they have been forced to live in the past. There is no doubt that they can be assimilated. Greece can boast her golden age of Pericles, and has given to the world her Homers and her Platos. The illustrious names of Peter the Great and Tolstoi adorn the pages of Russian history. Copernicus bears the plume of Poland, and John Huss came out of Bohemia; while Italy, the home of the "dago" points with pride to a long list of the most illustrious among all the sons of men. Truly, the men of these races cannot be worthless. They can be made into good citizens. They want to become good citizens. It is our duty to give them a chance.

"America, charge not thy fate to these!

The power is ours to mold them or to mar;

But freedom's voice, far down the centuries,

Shall sound our choice from blazing star to star."

Now it is because of these three preliminary facts that the influence of the liquor traffic upon these people constitutes such a vital question of citizenship to-day. For

of all the forces that are affecting the immigrant's march into citizenship, the organized, licensed and protected liquor traffic is, by far, the most potent.

The Immigrant's Finances

The economic well-being of the immigrant is decidedly affected by this greatest factor in his daily life. The average immigrant who is coming to us to-day is slow, ignorant, inefficient and naturally has a low earning capacity. We are told by those who are opposed to any restriction of immigration that we need these people to work into our industrial system, that we need more producers. If this is the prime reason for admitting these people in unrestricted numbers, it is highly important that we exclude everything from their lives that will decrease their efficiency and lower their earning capacity. All recent scientific investigation shows that a person's efficiency is decreased, even by the slightest use of alcohol. Common sense tells us that if this is true of the average person, it is true to a far greater extent of these people who are already inefficient to a marked degree.

Then again, the simple cumulative effects of the liquor appetite induce poverty. From the standpoint of efficiency, drinking habits mean a smaller pay envelope on Saturday night. Because of the inherent power that resides in alcohol to cause an ever-increasing desire for itself, Saturday night and Sunday drinking habits mean an empty envelope on Monday morning. And thus, POVERTY.

Both of these tendencies to keep the immigrant in poverty are aided by this significant factor of the liquor situation in the past ten years: The liquor industry has recognized for some time that it is being slowly driven from the small towns and rural sections of the country. It has entrenched itself in the cities. It realizes that if it is to maintain itself in our society, it must turn its attention to those classes of people who are most susceptible to mis-education, and who therefore offer the greatest possibilities of financial exploitation. These are the classes of people in our great cities and industrial centers constituted largely by the men and women who are coming to us in these days at the rate of a million a year from the nations of southeastern Europe. Upon these people the trade policies are being centered with terrible intensity.

DRUNKENNESS makes POVERTY. In the foreign sections of Chicago the writer has had ragged women with little half-starved children hanging to their clothes tell him the old pitiful story: "My man makes good wages but he spends it all in the saloon." Even the conservative Committee of Fifty estimated that twenty-five per cent of the poverty and thirty-seven per cent of the pauperism is due to intemperance.

Miss Harriet Vittum, head of the Northwestern University settlement, estimates that out of every ten cases of poverty and criminality that come before the settlement, eight are the result, in some degree, of intemperance. Estimates of other settlement and social workers in organized charities sustain these figures.

Now it is possible for a person in poverty to be virtuous; this we do not deny. But we do affirm that it is next to impossible for great masses of people to be righteous when they are steeped in the poverty that is incidental to the ravages of alcohol.

The liquor traffic keeps the immigrant in economic dependence, and makes him a prey to organized vice. Under these circumstances we cannot expect the average immigrant to become a patriotic and efficient citizen.

Liquor Traffic Affects the Immigrant Socially

In the smoky, congested industrial districts where these people live, exploited rents and low earning power plus starvation wages make decent homes an unattainable luxury. Real home life is impossible. Many of these families live in one room, and that likely in a dark, damp basement or a sweltering attic; while most of them have no more than two rooms. It is not infrequent for twelve or fifteen persons to sleep in one room. We found one block in the foreign district of Chicago where lived 1,200 children of school age. One room was found where nineteen persons were sleeping; these included the mother and daughters and other members of the family in common with several boarders. Under these conditions their social life must be had outside the home.

But nobody provides them a social center except John Barleycorn. This makes him the most potent factor in their development, and the social centers which he provides—saloons and saloon dance halls—give them their social ideals.

These people, having come from lands where law is a means of oppression, have a natural suspicion of legal institutions. The liquor traffic's sophistry of "personal liberty" naturally appeals strongly to them. And John Barleycorn illustrates this teaching by smashing with open impunity every law that Uncle Sam has ever invented for his control and regulation. SO OUT OF THESE SALOONS FLOATS THE RED FLAG OF ANARCHY! Do you wonder?

Family and social ideals go down before the onslaught of Alcohol. Ideals can be maintained in spite of poverty, but not in the face of POVERTY plus the SALOON. The writer was sent to the home of a girl who was dying of tuberculosis in the Polish district of Chicago to see that her mother, who is a heavy drinker, was staying sober and keeping the home clean and ventilated. In the course of our conversation she remarked: "I am awfully sorry about Jennie, for she used to bring me home good money every Saturday." The loss she dreaded was financial. It meant less money for booze. This is typical of the corrupting effect of the liquor traffic on the social ideals of the people who are to be citizens to-morrow along with your children and mine.

But think of its effect on the lives of the lads and lassies who grow up in the shadow of the saloon and for whom the saloon is the only social influence. These little boys and girls, as soon as they are big enough, become the regular beer carriers of the family. Jack London says that in spite of a constitution that naturally hated alcohol, the social pulling power of the saloon, exerted on

his life when he was a newsboy in the streets of San Francisco, finally made him a companion of John Barley-corn.³

WHAT THE SALOON WAS AS A SOCIAL INFLUENCE IN THE LIFE OF JACK LONDON, IT IS TO-DAY IN THE LIVES OF MILLIONS OF THESE BOYS AND GIRLS.

The Political Ideals

of these people are blasted and blighted by the political atmosphere of the saloon.

What are the political ideals of the liquor traffic?

It is the arch vote-purchasing and politics-corrupting agency of this nation. It is the corrupt politician and the liquor dealer who meet the immigrant with outstretched hands on his arrival in America. It is no wonder a simple immigrant wrote to his friend in the old country: "This is the greatest country I ever saw. Not only do they allow you to vote—they even pay you to vote." It is not surprising, therefore, to note that one half of the political ward captains of the great cities are saloon keepers.⁴

"Beer furnishes both the means and the motive by which the immigrant is exploited for political purposes."⁵

The liquor traffic teaches the immigrant that it is not the integrity of the candidate, nor the justice of a measure that should determine a man's vote, but the highest bidder! The liquor traffic knows no law of service or self-sacrifice; it has no ideal except self-aggrandizement; it knows no principle except, "rule or ruin." These

political tenets it teaches to these millions, who will be citizens to-morrow.

What does it mean for the future of our nation? In the light of these facts, is it any wonder that our anarchists are recruited from the immigrant part of our population? Is it any wonder that criminality is most prolific among the children of these people? Is it any wonder that the seventeenth ward of Chicago, where these studies were made, produces more criminals, adult and juvenile, and has a higher tubercular and infant death rate than any other ward in that city?

Does the immigrant constitute a menace to American ideals and institutions? If so, it is largely because of the influence of the saloon and its ideals in his life. How can he become an efficient American citizen when we crowd him into the industrial districts of our great cities like cattle, withholding practically every influence that would elevate and bless him, and then surround his home with saloons in which he must find his one place of social diversion?

II. TEN MILLION NEGROES

We have in this country, according to the latest census, approximately ten million Negroes, part of whom enjoy the right of franchise, most of whom do not, but all of whom are, in most senses, citizens. They must all be protected by the government. The government suffers for their inefficiency, insobriety and criminality.

Ten million Negroes constitute 10.7 per cent of all our population. What type of citizenship is this one-tenth going to be?

There can be no question of the general attitude of the mass of Negroes toward this problem in the past and up to the present. They have been used by the saloon to perpetuate itself. It is a well-known fact that in the South immoral combinations have often been made between the liquor trade and the Negroes. State-wide prohibition has been defeated in several states by this means. An illustration of the foregoing statement is found in the defeat of state-wide prohibition in Arkansas. Prohibition and disfranchisement measures were submitted at the same time, and in order to get the Negro vote, the liquor crowd formed an alliance with them to defeat both.

Practically everything that was said relative to the effect of the saloon on the development of the foreigner is true to as great an extent of our 10,000,000 Negro brethren. Recent experiences of the writer in the black sections of the South convince him that despite the contrary opinion on the part of the uninformed, it is the saloon which is making the worst ravages among the Negro people. It is alcohol, of which these people are as intensely fond as is the Indian, that is blighting their intellectual development. The influence of liquor dives is warping and blasting the development of their social and political ideals. Alcohol is responsible for a lot of their shiftlessness. The dive keeper is getting their surplus money.

Perhaps the greatest of all Negroes, the great educator, Booker T. Washington, says: "When all the facts are considered, strong drink, I believe, is one of the

supreme causes of Negro crime in the South." Dr. I. Garland Penn, who is associate corresponding secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and one of the great leaders in Negro education, said in the hearing of the writer, that liquor is undoubtedly the greatest obstruction to their progress toward character and true citizenship. These statements of two great Negroes are confirmed by all men who know the conditions among their people.

Robertson County, Texas, was dry for two years about six years ago. During those two years there was an average of two murders. Then through an alliance of the liquor crowd and the Negroes, license was voted back. During the last four years under license the average yearly number of murders is fifteen. It is needless to say that practically all these killings took place in Negro brawls, nor is it necessary to say that the participants were fitted for action in the liquor joints of that county. These are facts; but not in Robertson County alone. They are indicative of what is true wherever Negroes are thrown under the influence of John Barleycorn.

If these ten million Negroes are to be an asset to this country as industrial laborers; if they are to cease being our worst illiterates; if they are to become sober, industrious, law-abiding, self-respecting and useful people—a promise and not a menace—it is up to us to remove the saloon factor from their education and development.

III. NATIVE-STOCK BOYS AND GIRLS

According to the census of 1910, native whites of native parentage numbered 49,488,575, constituting 60.5 per cent of the white population and 53.8 per cent of the total population.

This shows that a little more than half of our citizens must come from the homes of native white Americans. In the foregoing sections of this study, we have noted something of the influence of the liquor traffic in the development of those citizens who must come from homes of foreign-born people, and from colored parentage. While the influence of the saloon is naturally much less in the lives of native-stock boys and girls, still it wields a mighty power on their growth into citizenship.

It is needless to attempt to point out in detail the ways in which John Barleycorn throws his blight upon this class of candidates for citizenship. It will be sufficient to point out the general manner in which alcohol opposes the processes of making them into the most efficient citizens.

Most fundamental of all, we may notice that the licensing of rum shops puts one extra pitfall in the way over which they must travel to arrive at true citizenship. It means one more force pulling them down. It subtracts just so much from their chances of arriving safely at their destination. This alone is an indictment against the liquor traffic severe enough to condemn it forever.

True, liquor advocates say this is exactly the reason that we should not destroy this institution. They are very solicitous about retaining this temptation for, they

tell us, "It is only by overcoming temptation that boys and girls become strong men and women." Just recently, on the floor of our National Congress, Congressman Bartholdt, of Missouri, urged this as a strong reason for retaining John Barleycorn in his social position. He said the policy of the Prohibitionists carried to its logical outcome would rid the world of about everything God has placed in it. He illustrated his argument by saying that it would bring about the elimination of women. He seems to be quite orthodox in his theology for he said God created woman in the garden of Eden and that it was through her that temptation and sin came into the world. Mr. Bartholdt fails to state, however, that God put alcohol into the garden of Eden along with Mrs. Adam. As for us, we have no record that he did. According to the best information in our office, it was introduced at a later date and by one whose wisdom was much less perfect than the Almighty's.⁶

But, of course, the whole fallacy of this argument is apparent. It is indeed true that "Virtue must come from within; to this problem religion and men must direct themselves. But vice may come from without; to hinder this is the care of statesmen."

Let us take a specific example of the effect upon citizenship of living under a license system: The internal revenue liquor law was passed in 1862. It was a war-finance measure. It was passed for the purpose of raising funds with which to carry on the Civil War. When the question came up for consideration in Congress, it caused much heated discussion. So far as

the congressional records bear witness there was not a person favorably disposed toward the passage of the internal revenue act as such. Some of the members would not support it at all. Others, who were willing to pass it as a temporary financial measure, openly stated that under ordinary conditions it would not be right. No one advocated it as anything more than a temporary measure.

When the bill was presented to Mr. Lincoln by Mr. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio the President refused to sign it until he was assured that it would be repealed immediately when the war was over. "Chase," he said, "I would rather give this right hand than sign that bill. But if you and the members of Congress will promise me to repeal it as soon as the war is over, I suppose I shall have to sign it."

This attitude of the congressional leaders was thoroughly representative of the general attitude of the people at that time. In every quarter, except among the liquor men themselves, there was no sympathy with the proposition of making evil contribute to the support of government.

But what is the result of it? Sixty years of complicity in the "crime of alcohol" has dulled the moral sentiments of our people most fearfully. Greed, sprung from the knowledge that the liquor traffic pays seventy per cent of our internal revenue and twenty-five per cent of our entire federal receipts, has thrown bars of gold across the windows of the public conscience. To-day, in every section of society, we find multitudes who not only receive this "blood money" with complacency, but who

actually desire it because they think it reduces their taxes.

And this is typical of the deteriorating effect upon the "ideals of citizenship" of affiliating with any system of evil. If America's youth is to be molded into the finest type of citizenship, we must free it from the menace of the saloon. This must be one of the "cares of statesmen."

"What builds a nation's pillars high
And its foundations strong ;
What makes it mighty to defy
The foes that round it throng?

"Is it not greed? No ! Greed's kingdoms grand
Go down in battle's shock ;
Its shafts are laid on sinking sand,
Not on abiding rock.

"Is it the sword? Ask the red rust
Of empires passed away. The blood
Has turned their stones to dust ;
Their glory to decay.

"And is it pride? Ah ! that bright crown
Has seemed to nations sweet ;
But God has struck its luster down
In ashes at his feet.

"Not gold, but only men
Can make a nation great and strong.
Men who for truth and honor's sake
Stand fast and suffer long.

"Brave men, who work while others sleep,
Who dare while others fly ;
They build a nation's pillars deep
And lift them to the sky."

¹ Statistical Abstract, Census of 1910.

² Statistical Abstract, Census of 1910, pages 93, 94.

³ "John Barleycorn," Century Company.

⁴ George Kibbe Turner in "McClure's Magazine."

⁵ Harry S. Warner in discussing liquor and the immigrant, "Social Welfare and the Liquor Problem," page 228.

⁶ Mr. Bartholdt has seen the handwriting on the wall and has announced his retirement.

⁷ Testimony of Lincoln's friend, Major J. B. Merwin.

CHAPTER VII

THE TWOFOLD ATTACK OF TO-DAY

In the cane fields of Louisiana the field hand strikes the stalk close to the ground with his heavy knife, and adds it to the armful which, in the evening, will go to the great kettle, boiling under the trees.

The following year, a shoot pushes its way through the ground, and when the laborer returns, he finds another stalk, just as sturdy as the one he had removed twelve months before.

There is only one way to prevent the return of the cane; that is to remove the roots and the ground with them, and cast them aside.

Whatever remedy is applied to the liquor curse must go deep into the ground, search out every long and ancient tap-root, trace its every turning, and, having gotten to the source, there apply a radical or "up-rooting" remedy.

I. THE SOURCES OF THE PROBLEM

The sources of the drink problem—the four tap-roots of the entire evil growth—students agree, are the following:

- A. The psycho-physical source.
- B. The social source.
- C. The political source, and
- D. The economic source.

It is within the past generation that the sources of the traffic have become so numerous. The psycho-physical and social impulses to drink have been with the race ever since the rude peasant, brutalized by oppression and suffering, first sought surcease of sorrow in the pseudo-stimulation of alcohol. As Warner so well says, "After hundreds of years of practice, drunkenness has become a great national habit." Father has handed down to son a weakness—not a craving—a predisposition, like the predisposition to tuberculosis, which causes the birth-branded one to recognize in all his nerves and muscles a seeming friend in alcohol.

For many generations the problem had its origin almost wholly in these two sources. It was a simple temperance question. There was very little of the economic phase, very little of organization on the part of the trade, and the relation of the trade in America with the government, more particularly with the federal government, was so slight that the political source scarcely existed at all. As we show in another study,¹ the modern aspect of the liquor problem began to assume shape in 1862, when the heavy war tax put upon the manufacture of beer and whisky cursed the government with revenue derived from a vice, and imposed upon the people a political motive for continued favors to the traffic. The effect upon the trade was no less marked. Having heavy taxes to pay, it became inevitable that the dealer in liquors would exert all of his shrewdness, individually and in common, to extend his trade, that he would add such attractions as the free lunch and tables to appeal to the

social impulse of the community, that he would add new drinks, such as beer, to appeal to those whose palate revolted from the strong liquors, and that he would so exploit the incoming hordes of foreign immigration as to make them a vital economic and political asset.

A. The Psycho-Physical Source

The psycho-physical source of the liquor appetite is, by common consent, largely psychic, and not physical. Medical authorities are almost unanimous in saying that the system can be easily cleansed from alcohol, and that, when it is cleansed entirely, there is no longer any physical craving for the drug. But the illusive psychic source is not so easily touched. Clean though the body may be, there still remains within the consciousness of the individual an imagination which tells him that his nerves tingle for intoxication, and a memory which points back to the lethal pleasures of the bowl. And it is this psychic source, beyond the reach of any but a moral and religious attack, which so often accounts for the downfall of reformed drinkers.²

B. The Social Source

Closely akin to this source of the problem is the social origin. It is in the saloon that many men, especially among the poorer classes, find their freest, and almost their only indulgence in the pleasures of social communion, and it is when the wine glasses are going that the social gathering oftenest finds itself free of those restraints of morality and common sense which bar it from a social debauch.³

C. The Economic Source

Economically, the traffic has tightened its hold upon the American people during the last half century in an astonishing way. The capital invested has grown to large proportions, the advertising through which the trade is promoted is widespread and well designed. Concentration and centralization have developed until now, whether for trade or for propaganda purposes, there is no other industry in America which is better in hand for united and effective action.⁴

D. The Political Source

Politically, the strength of the traffic has hardly been touched. It is true that it has been overthrown in many localities, and in a few states, but it is also true that it is dominant in a majority of the states, and that, until the passage of the Webb Act in the spring of 1913, it had been absolutely dominant in the federal Congress. It is only a few weeks since Mr. Hobson, in the House of Representatives, and Senator Sheppard, in the other wing of the Capitol, have delivered the first strong congressional addresses in favor of the destruction of the liquor traffic. From the standpoint of the national politician, the temperance question has until recently not been within the sphere of practical things at all—it has not been a thing to be considered as a possibility. Even now, when the glowering clouds of not-to-be-denied sentiment hang low over the capital, there are scores of statesmen who consider themselves eminently practical

and safe and sane, who are bewildered and impossible of comprehending.

II. METHODS THAT HAVE FAILED

The methods used in an attempt to solve this problem have been numerous and never entirely effective even in a limited degree.

In the early history of the country free trade in liquors was the rule, and the true remedy for drunkenness—which was, at that time, esteemed the problem—was thought to consist in the social discountenance of those who were too often “under the table,” especially when ladies were present. If a man did not “mewl and vomit,” he was not considered drunk. In the words of a popular ditty of that time:

“He is not drunk who is on the floor
And rises again to ask for more.”

Gradually the sentiment for moderation grew, until, just before the beginning of the unhappy war between the states, drunkenness was considered an ungentlemanly thing, but there was, until the very last years of that period but little opinion that the seller of liquors should be subjected to popular and political pressure, as well as the drinker. In the latter part of the period, this sentiment expressed itself in a sporadic spasm of prohibition activity, settling again into the period of low license. Then came the widespread advocacy of high license as a remedy, and this still persists in those large centers of population which have scarcely been reached by developing scientific knowledge of the subject.

A. High License

High license has been found, and is still found to be a total failure. Its advocates have asserted in the past that high license would bar the cheap dives and would tend to the better conduct of the business. This has not been true in any sense. Very frequently, the low dive, more completely abandoned to corruption, to alliance with the social evil and gambling, to political affiliations, has been more able to meet a high license than the shop which attempts to keep itself free from such things. The principle has not lessened the extension or the degree of the drinking custom, nor has it mitigated in the slightest its evil consequences. Upon the other hand, by giving the traffic something of social and political prestige, it has tended to contribute to its growth and to diffuse its evil effects throughout the population.

Nor has high license regulation tended to keep the traffic entirely within the sphere of municipal oversight. Opponents of prohibition are very fond of saying that licensed places keep out "blind pigs."

It is easy to establish conclusively that the direct contrary is true. It is easy to ascertain in any given territory the number of blind pigs, for the reason that Uncle Sam has so impressed upon the imagination of the booze vendors the efficiency of his Internal Revenue Service that rarely does a man who wishes to sell liquor neglect to pay the federal license. He may prefer not to pay the state tax, but to similarly slight the federal government is to invite certain trouble.

In Kansas, according to the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the year ending June 30, 1913, 766 federal liquor tax receipts were issued.⁵

Not all of these 766 were lawbreakers. Some of them were druggists who sell medicines in which alcohol is used as a solvent. A great many of these druggists are talked into buying the tax receipt by smooth revenue collectors who want to swell their business. Neither does the buying of a liquor tax receipt indicate that the holder does an uninterrupted month by month business. It rather indicates that he is going to try to sell as much liquor as he can before he is caught and jugged, or, since he is a blind pig, caught and penned. Sometimes his career ends after the first sale. It is nothing uncommon in reviewing the year's report of liquor tax receipts sold to run across this statement: "John Smith, located at 441 First street (this receipt now transferred to county jail)."

The sportsman who wants to do some pigsticking need not come to Kansas. He can find far better preserves in the license states. For instance, in New York, in 1913, there were 23,472 saloons licensed by the state. During this time the internal revenue collectors issued 34,522 permits to sell liquors. This means that there were in New York state just exactly 11,050 blind pigs, as contrasted with 766 in Kansas. And the difference between a New York blind pig and a Kansas blind pig is that probably the New York animal will live his life in peace from year's end to year's end. There is another difference: In Kansas a blind pig is a blind pig; in New York a blind pig is a blind pig, and often something worse.

Doubtless a large majority of illegitimate liquor establishments in the state of New York are located in houses of ill repute.⁶

Illinois shows a similar state of affairs. According to recent investigations, there are in that state 12,708 licensed saloons, but there are 22,754 dealers in liquors holding the federal tax receipt. This indicates the presence in Illinois of 10,046 blind pigs, tigers, etc.

The full significance of these figures, however, can only be gathered from their consideration in connection with the state population. Looking at it from this standpoint, New York has one blind pig for every 817 people; Illinois has one blind pig for every 561 inhabitants of that state; Kansas has one blind pig for every 2,207 of the population, and in the case of Kansas the figures include not only those doing business contrary to law, but those druggists who do not sell liquors at all, but hold the federal tax receipt to protect their sale of medicines containing alcohol.⁷

High license has failed to touch the problem at any source. It has not tended to prevent the perversion of the social instinct. It has not, in any sense, affected the psycho-physical source, and it has tremendously increased the strength of the economic and political sources of the problem of drinking and drunkenness.

B. State Ownership

A method which many good people thought would really solve the problem originated in Sweden, and is called the Gothenburg system. This takes the traffic out

of the hands of private capital, and makes it a state monopoly. South Carolina, about twenty years ago, adopted the same system, calling the government retail liquor places, dispensaries.⁸ The regulations prohibited the drinking of liquors upon the place, and thus, to some degree, mitigated the strength of the social source. But the psycho-physical, being a source springing directly out of the individual, was not touched at all, and it was found that even though the people could not gather in the dispensary to drink they very often purchased their liquors there and gathered somewhere else, and so the social source was touched but slightly. It might be thought that this method of dealing with the problem would entirely remove the economic source, as there would be no way by which the seller could make a private profit, but in practice this was not found to be the case. While there was but scant chance for profits to creep in, the dispensary system lent itself in a peculiar way to corruption and what was not made as legitimate profit was made as illegitimate graft. Politically, the state monopoly method was found absolutely unbearable, and the people of South Carolina almost unanimously rejected the plan as a state proposition. At the present time, county dispensaries are optional to local prohibition, and a large majority of the counties have gone dry.

C. The Substitution of "Light" Liquors

At the present time, there is a great effort to convince America that the universal use of light liquors is a solution of the problem. To those whom long warfare with

the liquor traffic has made wise with the wisdom the Trojans lacked, this is clearly a case of the Greeks bearing gifts, for the proposition comes directly from the manufacturers and wholesale dealers in beer and wine, and those newspapers which they have succeeded in dominating.

But a glance at Europe shows conclusively that a large consumption of light liquors is always attended by a large consumption of stronger liquors.

The United States in 1909 drank 16.5 gallons of beer per capita and 1.14 gallons of distilled liquors. Germany, where it is contended that the "universal use of beer has solved the problem," uses 1.58 gallons of distilled spirits per capita and 22.2 gallons of beer. France, where wine has proved the "solution," of the problem, uses 1.32 gallons of distilled spirits per capita and 38.9 gallons of wine. The United States uses less than one gallon of wine per capita each year. Denmark uses 19.1 gallons of beer per capita and 2.16 gallons of distilled spirits. All figures are for 1909. We give references below to works which will be helpful to anyone who has been deceived by the great mass of falsehood circulated by the brewing propagandists.⁹

"Every drop of beer destroys a nerve cell," says Dr. Henry A. Cotton, of Trenton, N. J.¹⁰ The extensive investigations and experiments in America, Great Britain and Germany which have so conclusively demonstrated the effect of "light" drinks, infrequently taken, upon muscular and nerve control, mental clearness, and ability

to throw off the germs of disease, prove that drunkenness is a matter of degree only.

The man who drinks a pint of whisky is drunk, superlatively so.

The man who drinks one glass of beer is drunk, slightly so, so long as the effect of the beer lasts.

We have in America, in medicine, the homeopath and the allopath—with others. The homeopath proceeds by frequent minute doses, so we understand, to effect that which the allopath secures by a few large doses.

The man who takes one or two glasses of beer each day is a homeopathic drunkard.

The man who takes a pint of whisky at irregular intervals is an allopathic drunkard. One drop of alcohol makes a drunkard and keeps him drunk so long as its presence continues.

There is no drunkenness so sottish, so brutal and debasing as beer drunkenness. There is no drunkenness which so turns a man into a cruel and stupid beast as wine drunkenness.

The displacing of the American saloons with beer gardens will not decrease in the slightest the psychophysical source of the liquor problem as it is to-day. It will intensify, if that be possible, the economic source, and the political source will remain unchanged so long as the federal government participates in the profits.

III. THE RIGHT ATTACK

To-day, the forces of temperance the nation over have come to the conclusion that there is but one solution for

the drink problem and that solution must be twofold. A large majority of the American people must be convinced that the habit of drinking liquors has no redeeming or mitigating phase, and that total abstinence is right and wise. Similarly, the government must be convinced by the persuasion of votes that no political attitude toward the liquor traffic is right or profitable save the attitude of consistent hostility.

A. Prohibition

Of abstinence there is but one kind. Of prohibition at the present time in America, we have many kinds. We have tried local option, but have found it full of grave shortcomings. True, local option has dried up a very large area, and in the area which has been made dry through this method, the traffic has been greatly weakened and many beneficent results have been noticeable. The political source of the problem, however, has been but slightly touched by this method, since the county is not a true political unit, and in the municipality the result of local option elections have rarely been considered conclusive, and, hence, the executive and judicial cooperation necessary to reinforce the legislation has been lacking. The state is but lightly touched by local option and the nation never. The economic result of such a step does not go beyond the bounds of the county. The great economic power of the traffic does not even feel the jar, for, deprived of its opportunity to reach the people through retail dealers, it reaches him directly through interstate commerce.

Similarly, state-wide prohibition, while much more successful than local or county prohibition has not been found a satisfactory solution. Recent investigations in Kansas by the Methodist Temperance Society under the new Mahin Law, which requires a report to the county clerk of all liquor shipments, have conclusively revealed the fact that the people of that state do not consume more than one fourth as much liquor per capita as the average American.

So far as the authority of the state goes, the economic source is largely removed. The psycho-physical source is heavily smitten. When the state-wide prohibition is by constitutional amendment, the political source of the problem is also very directly and favorably affected.¹¹

But always, state-wide prohibition, while admirable as a working model, has been found insufficient to deal with a problem which is nation-wide, and, being nation-wide, will affect every inch of territory in America until it is removed entirely. Absolutely, the question is federal in its scope.

There are questions which are wholly local and come properly within the sovereignty of a municipality or state. For instance, in Chicago, Ill., the question of whether or not the citizens of that municipality shall inaugurate a new street cleaning system lies wholly within the proper sphere of that city's action. It cannot be said to be a matter concerning the state sufficiently to come under the legislative or administrative action of the state. And if Illinois decides to adopt the initiative and referendum or woman suffrage, there is no power within the federal

government to say that it shall not do so, there is no just reason why outside pressure should be brought to bear upon the state that it should not do so, and there is no reason, once it has done so, why the effect of its legislative action should not be conclusive and complete.

But there can be no such local option on the drink question under our federal and state constitutions. Neither can there be state prohibition within the strict meaning of that term. Local option is only applicable to a question which arises locally, and the option, to be truly such, must have a direct, controlling and conclusive effect on the thing to which it is applied. The drink traffic is dependent for its propagation and power, not upon local good will, or antagonism, but upon all the agencies of the community, the state and the nation. The state controls the manufacture, intrastate commerce and state taxation. The nation controls the interstate shipments, railroads and navigable waters, tariffs and treaties, mails, federal taxation and permits, imports and exports, testimony of internal revenue collectors, and many other powers which bear directly upon the question and which affect the status of the commerce in intoxicating beverages much more than the state or locality can possibly do. Local option falls far short of real success, because it is often nullified by state interference, and the unfriendliness of state and federal executives and courts. State option also has always met with federal executive and judicial hostility, and, therefore, local prohibition has been prevented from adequately dealing with the problem.

The Prohibition Must Be Federal and Constitutional

What form, then, of prohibition will be conclusive and final? It must be federal and constitutional. One of the barriers to successful prohibition in the states and cities exists in the case of the federal government. The political source, in case prohibition were adopted as the policy of the nation, would be at once removed. The economic source would disappear in the demoralization of the trade. The psycho-physical and social sources of the problem would very largely fade away under the glare of the constant and growing popular and governmental disapproval which would result. The executive, judicial and legislative organization of the government would act in harmony for the enforcement of law, and, being sovereign, it might be truly said that every iota of law and of administration would be brought into line of hostility against the traffic. At the present time, not one pint of whisky can be removed from a warehouse until a representative of the United States Government in person, goes and turns the key and opens the door. Federal prohibition would simply turn the key in the door and then throw away the key, and the power of the federal government to do the one is an unassailable proof of the power to do the other.

And when this national prohibition comes, it must be by constitutional law. Measures to accomplish such prohibition have already been introduced into both Houses of Congress. So far as we have been able to observe, these bills have aroused no amusement in the liquor columns, no rippling smiles from liquor conventions. The

fact of the matter is that a prohibition constitutional amendment is no laughing matter. It is deadly serious in its purpose, and its possibilities, and this is recognized by the liquor trade.

The Constitution is the people's law. It is beyond the reach of petty politics, and beyond the reach of pernicious lobbies. It represents settled convictions, permanent determinations, evolved from the heart of the body politic. It provides the *modus vivendi* of our Union. It is a bond given by state to nation, nation to state, and state to state—a document of honor. It is a pledge set in the political sky. It was created by great men, good men and true, and should be changed only in the spirit which animated them.

A prohibition amendment could not become operative until it had received the consent of three-fourths of the representative assemblies of all the people in the various states. Once adopted, it would represent a revolution in sentiment, and have large sponsorship in every section of the Union.

We have never known signing the pledge to reform any man. We do believe that it is a good basis for reformation, and we take this attitude in regard to the constitutional amendment. Such an amendment will be an act of penitence, a profession of faith. Whether or not regeneration will be instantaneous and simultaneous to this act of penitence we do not know. It may precede or follow. It may be the result of the single fiery ordeal of a political campaign, or merely a growth in grace. But it will be inevitable.

B. Education

The adoption of a prohibition constitutional amendment will not be all, and here follows the necessary second half of the regenerative act. Any individual may take the pledge, but he must experience a sudden accession of will power, a sudden turnover of desires and affections, or else that pledge is a matter of ink and paper, nothing more.

In the words of a great statesman, the temperance crusade has to do with a sick man, "a very sick man." The American nation is suffering from an alcoholic liver, and an alcoholic heart. It badly needs to take the pledge, to reform before the whole world, to renounce its political customs and its attitude toward the drink traffic, and to confess its determination to adopt and to adhere to a new political rule of conduct. But we need not only to force through a prohibition constitutional amendment; we need to put in supreme control of our body politic a new brain and a new set of nerves and we must put into our body social a new heart.

This new heart can only be won through a campaign of education and persuasion which will go to the great untouched cities and to the inferior classes within our midst, which will go to the centers of population where sentiment to-day is opposed to prohibition and where sentiment will be opposed to law enforcement, and there convince the people who now believe that liquor has a proper place in life that they have been wrong all these years. We must convince them that it is not only politically and economically best to discountenance the traffic,

but that it is individually best to abstain from the use of liquors. The sentiment in our great cities which at present is the bulwark of the drinking custom among urban millions, has been cultivated by a systematic campaign of advertising in the great daily newspapers, in the street cars, on the bill boards, and by word of mouth.

The writer was talking over this phase of the problem with a young man recently, and he exclaimed: "Harm in beer? Why, there is as much nourishment in a glass of beer as there is in an egg!" That young fellow had seen this statement hundreds of times. We should see to it that he is told an equal number of times that there is as much nourishment in a glass of beer as there is in a rotten egg—and no more.

It is this phase of the battle that belongs to the Christian Church—more particularly to the Methodist Church which has established a temperance society to do exactly this work—and it is a phase which we have woefully neglected. Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts has said, "Legislation is one oar, education is the other oar. We have pulled mightily on the oar of legislation. In Europe they have pulled heavily on the oar of education, and both of us have seen our boats go around in a circle." If we in America expect to see a prohibition which will be nationally observed, and which will be strikingly successful in the large cities as well as in the rural districts, we must not only apply legislation to break the strength of the traffic, but we must apply education in a way which we have not done to break the strength of the habit. This must be done through the use of every possible educa-

tional method, and it will not be done in any adequate degree unless the Christian Churches do it through their own denominational organizations. This work devolves particularly upon the Methodist Church for reasons which we cannot set forth here. It is the business of the Temperance Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church to make such use of the press, the platform, and, eventually, of billboards and street cars, and of all other methods of communication with the people, that it may establish in the popular thinking a firm foundation for the rising edifice of national prohibition. The Temperance Society has been instructed by the General Conference to aid in the warfare for righteous laws and righteous government. But far more important is it that the society should have the coöperation of every Epworth Leaguer and every Church member in leading a return to the field of religious exhortation, moral warning, social help, scientific research and education.

It is a reproach that America, crowded with men of scientific and professional honesty, must go to Europe for authoritative data as to the effect of alcohol upon the human body. It is a shame that America has offered nothing comparable to Kraeplin's experimentation, has published nothing comparable to Sir Victor Horsley's "Alcohol and the Human Body," has not even approached the investigation in Great Britain of hospital and asylum conditions as effected by the use or disuse of alcohol, has no periodical such as the *British Journal of Inebriety*, no strong body of scientific men such as the group that issues it—above all, it is a reproach that should strike

us to the heart that we have not even the beginnings of such a propaganda of total abstinence as exists in England, Scotland and Ireland—a propaganda which, without the aid of prohibition laws, has decreased the consumption of alcoholic liquors while we have seen it slightly increase despite our political victories. Where might we have been if the Church, without decreasing in the least its loyal support of organizations striving for laws, had many years ago established its temperance society rock-founded, and fought a systematic campaign for abstinence because abstinence is RIGHT, fought as our cousins in Great Britain have fought, and as our kinsmen in Germany are fighting to-day?

The leaders of political reform have recognized the need of reinforcement—so much so that Mr. Purley A. Baker, head of the Anti-Saloon League's work, said, when the need of the Methodist Temperance Society was questioned, "If the Methodist Temperance Society did not exist, I would be the first to move its organization."

The history of the reform offers no parallel to the remarkable revival of hope which is now pulsing and throbbing through the country. As never before, we are working in the clear and warm sunlight of sound principle and faith. A boost to-day is worth a brace to-morrow. Rally to the colors!

¹ See Study Four.

² See "Social Welfare and the Liquor Problem," chapter three.

³ See "Social Welfare and the Liquor Problem," chapter eight.

⁴ See Studies Three and Five.

⁵ The number seems to grow steadily less.

⁶ The figures in regard to the number of state licenses in New York and Illinois were taken respectively from "Mida's Criterion," an au-

thoritative liquor journal, and the Chicago "Tribune." The number of federal licenses was ascertained from the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

⁷ We have at headquarters of the Temperance Society, Topeka, Kan., a great deal of additional information along this line, use of which is forbidden here by limited space.

⁸ The state and county dispensary system has done more than anything else to minimize South Carolina's influence in federal matters. The machine it created gave the state the present governor, who received only twenty-seven per cent of the state's vote.

⁹ Mr. Ernest Gordon's "Anti-Alcohol Movement in Europe," published by the F. H. Revell Company, is especially recommended. Great German leaders of science, medicine and reform are agreed with Von Moltke in saying, "Beer is a greater peril to Germany than all the armies of France," and government authorities of France and Italy recognize the wine curse as threatening racial life.

¹⁰ Before national gathering of alienists and neurologists, Chicago.

¹¹ When the state-wide prohibition campaign was on in Texas, "The Champion of Fair Play," a leading liquor organ said: "If Texas adopts prohibition it will no doubt make a partial success of it as all the dry states have done so."

CHAPTER VIII

OUR PLACE IN THE REFORM

A thirsty traveler in Cornwall, England, complained to an old man because he could not get a drink of liquor in that place. "Why is it?" he asked. "Sir," said the old man, "about a hundred years ago a man passed through this town whose name was John Wesley."

From the day that the founder of our Church said of rum, "It drives the people to hell like sheep," and that the traffic in poison "ought not to be licensed in any civilized country," Methodism has been the enemy of alcohol.

Christ said, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword." Methodism long ago caught the militant spirit of the Master, and wherever there has been a Methodist Church, there has been a war against the saloon.¹

I. OUR PLACE AS METHODISTS

In 1912 our General Conference reaffirmed: "The liquor traffic 'cannot be legalized without sin.' It is vicious in principle, utterly inconsistent with the purpose of enlightened government, and in practice, a protection to a traffic which is inherently criminal in its nature."²

Because of a long history of right attitude on this question, and also because of her great strength must Metho-

dism keep on the firing line of the temperance reform. There are in the United States more than three million members in our branch of Methodism. There are about six million constituents. This means that one person in every ten in the nation is a member or constituent of our Church. This mighty host constitutes by far the largest body of Protestant Christians in America. Dare we withhold this body of support from the army that is marching against the greatest foe of our civilization? There is not everything in numbers, but there is something in numbers. Ordinarily, there is strength in a mighty host.

So long as we have the greatest numbers, we must, in all fairness, charge to ourselves a large part of the responsibility for success in this undertaking.

Machinery Also

Likewise, because of her machinery, can Methodism exert a mighty force in behalf of righteousness and temperance. It is not an exaggeration to say that ours is the most efficient ecclesiastical machinery. The strongest proof of this is that it works. Last year a great Protestant denomination had about one-third of its preachers without charges. That means that one-third of its sheep-folds were without shepherds. This condition cannot possibly exist in our Church. Every Methodist preacher can have a charge, and every charge can have a preacher. Our forts are always manned. This is a mighty factor in reform work.

Again, we are a connectional Church. A negro preacher down South said, "The Methodist Church is

the same size everywhere." In Methodism, the power of the whole Church is behind every individual charge. Our Church is permeated by a common ideal. It has one perspective everywhere. It is bound together by a common spirit, such as is not possible in a nonconnectional denomination.

This is one reason why Methodism has always been united on the temperance reform. In some denominations, a preacher who is lukewarm on the temperance question might settle down in a charge to stay a lifetime. "Like priest, like people"; that charge would be lost to the temperance advance. This cannot happen in Methodism, for two reasons: First, because we have a common standard of morals and conduct, second, because our itinerant or traveling ministers keep the Church transfused with a common spirit and ideal.

Our Temperance Machinery

These things make it possible for Methodism to have the most efficient set of specialized temperance machinery to be found in any denomination. Every Sunday School is required to be organized into a temperance society, whose officers promote temperance work among boys and girls. Every local charge has its quarterly conference committee for coöperation with the pastor and other temperance forces of the Church and community. Every superintendent's district must have its temperance committee, consisting of the district superintendent himself, and two other members. Every annual conference is itself a temperance society.

All these temperance societies and committees are auxiliary to the Church Temperance Society. This makes a chain of temperance work running through every department of Methodism. Truly, this is a mighty machinery.

The last General Conference made the Church Temperance Society one of the regular boards of the Church, and made an apportionment of \$50,000 a year for its use. Its headquarters are located at Topeka, Kan. Its general secretary is Rev. Clarence True Wilson, D.D. Bishop W. O. Shepard is president of its board of managers.³ The duty of the Church Temperance Society is to coöperate with ministers and members, that Methodism may be aroused to zealous and enthusiastic participation in this war; to bring up our children in loyalty to the principles of Methodism on this question; to coöperate with the boundless energy and optimism of the Epworth League in beating irresistibly against the fortresses of falsehood and greed.

With such coöperation throughout our mighty machinery there are many practical things we can do—an infinite number of them. We can lead in a fight against liquor advertising, and, properly backed, we can drive the liquor ad. from America. Already, the attorney-general of Texas has forbidden newspapers bearing liquor advertisements from going into dry territory, and Federal Judge Pollock, of Kansas City, has intimated that such liquor advertising cannot legally circulate in Kansas. Two bills have been introduced into Congress, many Methodist annual conferences have already peti-

tioned the government to act, and the guns are going to open along this line soon.

The Temperance Society has established a bureau where hospital, prison and asylum statistics are secured and systematically arranged, where abstracts are made of studies the whole world over, references tabulated, experimentation encouraged among our own leaders of medicine and science, digests made of liquor and prohibition laws, literature compared and standardized for our own pastors, facts so arranged as to cover one subject briefly, and made available for our people in such definite, concrete form that they will not have to wade through an entire literature to ascertain the truth as to liquor and divorce, liquor and crime, prohibition and law enforcement, alcohol and the liver, or any other specific phase of the question.

The temperance machinery of the Methodist Church is moving. It is gaining mighty momentum. Last year the Church Temperance Society conducted anniversaries at practically every conference in continental Methodism. It has pledged hundreds of thousands of boys and girls to lives of total abstinence. It has put new life into the temperance work of the Sunday Schools. It is helping to organize classes in our Epworth Leagues for the study of the problem. It distributes more leaflet temperance literature than any other organization in America. It has sent its speakers to aid in many campaigns where the battle goes the hardest. It keeps the religious and secular press supplied with temperance news and argument. It is getting colleges to install credit courses

dealing with the problem. It is giving the truth about alcohol to the foreigners within our land, that they may be redeemed from the thralldom of liquor. It is giving inspiration and instruction to the 300,000 Negro Methodists in the Southland.

The Church Temperance Society brings the resources of Methodism into coöperation with every temperance organization that is going toward the same goal, and fighting for the common prize. Its work conflicts or overlaps the work of no other organization. Its peculiar duty is to unite the followers of John Wesley against the power of John Barleycorn.

II. OUR PLACE AS EPWORTHIAN

Everybody knows that *The Epworth Herald*, whether under Berry, Herben or Brummitt, has always rung true on the temperance question. But it has not been truer and never so efficient as now. Under the magnetic leadership of Wilbur F. Sheridan the Epworth League forces are being rallied as never before in its history.

It is under the present administration—Dr. Wilbur F. Sheridan as general secretary and Dr. Dan B. Brummitt as editor of *The Epworth Herald*—that the name of the Third Department has been changed from "Mercy and Help" to "Social Service," for the very purpose of making a larger and more efficient place in the Epworth League for temperance and Christian citizenship work.

We have talked too much about what Epworthians may do to-morrow, and too little about what they can do to-day. There is more than potential power in the Epworth

League—there is kinetic energy. It is capable of leadership now. Young men and women are leaders in the world of commerce, industry, politics and education; why should they not lead in moral reform?

They should, and they can!

The wars of this world have been fought by boys. Someone has said that out of about 2,800,000 enlisted troops in the Union Armies only 46,000 were over twenty-four years of age, while the great majority were under twenty-one. It is equally true that the leaders of some of these conquering armies have been young men: Alexander the Great began to win battles when he was eighteen and had whipped everything in sight when he was thirty-two. Julius Cæsar won great distinction in the Roman Armies when he was twenty-one, and Napoleon Bonaparte was made commander-in-chief of all the troops of France when he was twenty-five.

Likewise, young life has been at the starting point of every great moral war. The German Reformation was founded on the courage and faith found only in young life. The revival that swept over England in the eighteenth century purging it of dross like a refiner's fire was started and put through by a group of Oxford students. The Man of Nazareth drew around him a group of men, most all of whom were young, and had completed the foundation of the greatest of all reforms when he was only thirty years of age.

The Church is coming to realize the possibilities of leadership and service that reside in its young life. It is coming to know that the temperance reform cannot be

successfully consummated without the coöperation of young men and women. No Church knows this any better than the Methodist Church, and none is doing more to realize these possibilities.

There is the very closest coöperation between the Epworth League and the Church Temperance Society. So much time was given to describing the plans and work of the Temperance Society in the first section of this study that Epworthians may know what vast and efficient temperance machinery the Methodist Church possesses. Now we are pointing out that there is a most vital relation between that machinery and the Epworth League; that the Epworth League must furnish the forces to operate that machinery. If the Church Temperance Society is able to bring to bear on the temperance reform all the power it ought, it will be only by utilizing the limitless resources of the young life in the Epworth League. And if the Epworth League is saved from that "spiritual dry rot" that we hear so much about, its young life must be linked up to some big, vital, moral fight—something that will be a "moral equivalent of war." The enemy is at hand, and the Temperance Society offers the means of attack. No wonder that the Temperance Society and the Epworth League work in the finest coöperation; it will be a sad day for both when they don't.⁴

So we have now come to the most practical part of this whole series. The question that now confronts us is: What can WE do? It is all well enough to study the general underlying principles, aye, it is absolutely necessary to do so, but that ought to lead to the question:

What can we do about it? If a study of the liquor problem hasn't led you to this point, it has, in your case, been nearly a failure. A study of what you can actually do toward the solution of this great problem may not be so interesting as some other parts of the course, but it is vastly more important.

III. WHAT CAN WE DO?

A. You Can Know the Problem and the Law

It is the duty of every Epworth Leaguer to know about this great throbbing question: from what sources it originates; what is the history of its development; what is its status in everyday life, in business, in government. After having made a study of the general underlying principles of the liquor problem, the next all-important thing to be done is to make a study of the laws under which the saloon operates in your state and community. You ought to know the license laws. You ought to know the laws that are at your disposal in wiping out the saloon. In short, you ought to thoroughly understand the whole liquor situation in your own community and state. Why not spend another lesson on this subject under the leadership of some able attorney of your community?

In a certain Eastern city the liquor crowd was secretly planning to put a saloon back in a community from which it had been driven three years before. That community had gone to sleep on the matter just as a lot of others do after the preliminary skirmish is won. The petitions were circulated and men had promised to appear at the

court which has jurisdiction of liquor licenses to recommend the fellow's character and ask that a license be granted before anyone knew what was going on. And then it was a young woman, the president of the Epworth League in that neighborhood, who discovered the scheme. Inasmuch as the young people had discovered the thing the people thought they might as well let them undertake the job of keeping that license from being granted.

When that liquor crowd came into court they found that those Epworthians had come also. When they presented their petitions those Epworthians presented their remonstrances. When those supposedly "respectable" citizens asked that a license be granted to sell booze the Leaguers had men to ask that the license be not granted—and it was not.

Now that crowd of Epworthians was able to check that vile scheme not alone because they knew the liquor problem in a general way, but because they knew the liquor laws of their state. They had made a study of them. And if you want to be able to measure up to the full responsibilities of citizenship in relation to this question, you too must know "the problem and the law." There are few places where licenses can be secured if trained Epworthians get on the trail of John Barleycorn.

B. In Your Chapter and Church

You can make your chapter the greatest power for civic righteousness in your community. You can put new life into the temperance topic of the devotional meetings. The Sunday nearest to the Fourth of July has been des-

ignated as "Good Citizenship Day." By coöperation with other young people's societies, or in your own chapter alone as the case may be, you can make that day mean something. There are many other ways in which you can make the young men and women in your community know that the liquor problem is big enough and vital enough to command the attention of the reddest blooded and biggest brained people. Take it out of the fanatic and lift it into the heroic. It is time for us to let people know that going to the foreign mission field is not the only heroic thing in life. Not by a long shot! It takes heroic men and women to tackle the problems at home; and this is the biggest of them.

No Church can stay dead that has a really live crowd of Epworthians around. Is your Church dead on this question? Give it a hypodermic injection of ginger. You ought to coöperate with the officers of the Sunday School Temperance Society and with the Quarterly Conference Temperance Committee. You ought to stand loyally by your pastor in this work. He deserves your heartiest sympathy and coöperation. Probably you are needed to help in a pledge-signing campaign in the Sunday School or to help in a systematic distribution of literature in the community. Get into the game; the "fightin's good all along the line."

Have you a no-license campaign on in your community? You ought to be in it with both feet. Make your chapter the biggest and most effective factor in the fight—always, of course, working in full harmony and coöperation with the other forces and organizations: 1.

Keep your local paper supplied with temperance news and argument. Your own Temperance Society (Topeka, Kansas) will furnish you with material free for such use. 2. Arrange prohibition oratorical contests and debates and add special features to draw the people, then give them the truth. 3. You can make the various temperance meetings of the campaign drawing cards by furnishing a quartet and reader from your chapter. Many other things are suggested below under another head which are equally workable and fitting in a no-license campaign.

C. Coöperate With Your Church Temperance Society

There are many ways in which you can do this: You can use our literature and work our plans. In many cases we can only plan the work; we must depend upon you to work the plan. You can coöperate by seeing that the work of the society is duly presented in your Church and by seeing that the apportionment for its work is raised. But we want to point out more specifically how you can help us make the work of the society much more effective.

You can lend us your eyes. We need all kinds of eyes in all kinds of places. You remember the old nursery rhyme, "You in your small corner and I in mine." It sounds childish now perhaps, yet that is exactly the way the news agencies of the country have built up great, sensitive systems for the gathering up and distributing of the daily happenings. The Methodist Temperance Society wants reporters in all the chapters in the nation to send it notes of the interesting happenings in the temperance world.

The Temperance Society is already issuing to hundreds of newspapers in the large cities and in the state capitals a weekly printed bulletin, and the matter is being very largely used. The fact that it is issued by an organization responsible to a great Church has caused it to meet a reception from the daily and weekly press of the country never before paralleled in the history of the reform.

This bulletin is used to decide local contests by reaching the right spot with explosive information at the right moment.

You can make it possible for us to make this work a thousandfold more effective, if you will send us a report of the news about law enforcement, educational developments, moral and no-license campaigns, or other reform news that relates to the work. News of victories won, or temperance enterprises launched are particularly needed. The people want to know about these things. We can give the information to them if you will give it to us. Send us a note of whatever you think will be of interest to others, and remember this: If it interests you, it is apt to interest others.

D. As Members of the Community

1. By judicious advertising and personal work you can convince your community that it needs prohibition. You can show the farmer that prohibition would be best for him. You can show him that liquor possesses the least market-producing power of all the leading industries. You can prove to him that were our expenditures

for liquor spent for the necessities of life, the industries which manufacture those things would demand far more of his products than the liquor industry now buys.

2. You can prove to the wage-earner of your community that prohibition is best for him. You can show him that "liquor robs labor." Show him that the liquor industry employs only eighty-one men for every million dollars invested, while the average of the other leading industries is 368 for every million dollars invested. You can smash to smithereens the old saloon sophistry that prohibition would hurt the wage-earner.⁵

3. You can prove to the business men and financiers of your community that the liquor traffic is a parasite on prosperity. Show them that every dollar spent for booze is simply a dollar withdrawn from the channels of legitimate trade. Show that the liquor trade, which demands a nine-cent profit on a ten-cent sale, runs unfair competition to all other business which must be satisfied with a one-cent profit on a ten-cent sale. The liquor traffic is "not a business but a crime."⁶

4. You can see that the laws are being enforced in your community. You should see that laws providing for scientific temperance instruction in the schools are being enforced.

5. You can cleanse the billboards, street cars, and other advertising mediums.

In the city of Pittsburgh, a certain saloon was advertising its business with a calendar on which was the picture of Jesus and the Twelve Apostles around the Table of the Last Supper. The religious sentiment of the

community was shocked, but nobody seemed to know what to do about it, except the members of an Epworth League chapter in that neighborhood. They crystallized the shocked sentiment of that community into remonstrances, and, going to the court which had charge of liquor licenses, they protested against this sacrilege.

"But," you ask, "could they dictate the method of a man's advertising?"

They made it unnecessary for that saloon keeper to advertise at all, for, by the sheer power of moral influence, they had his license revoked.

6. One of the most effective and most workable methods of educational work is what they call in Germany "the shop window display." Secure a shop window on some main street in your city and conduct a scientific display of the effects of alcohol and the liquor traffic. You can secure posters which point out the evil effects of alcohol on the human system. There are charts and diagrams and other methods of graphically illustrating the recent discoveries of science on the alcohol problem, the size of the drink bill compared with other expenditures, etc. You can illustrate the economic waste of the liquor traffic so clearly that a way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein. The charts and statistical tables in such a display can be changed every day or two so that in a short time a vast deal of material can be shown.⁷

E. As Citizens of the Nation

At Columbus, O., on November 13, 1913, at the national convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America

was launched a campaign for a prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This movement is already gaining enormous proportions. From many sections of the nation, from Portland, Me., to Portland, Ore., from the wheated plains of the North to the cotton fields of Sunny Dixie, come the assurances that the people are going to write prohibition into the organic basis of their political liberties.

Epworth Leaguers must get into this great fight at the very beginning. We cannot afford to let any other crowd of young people beat us at this game. College men and women are tackling this problem as never before. The Intercollegiate Prohibition Association has prohibition clubs in 230 colleges and universities. It has thousands of college men and women organized into classes making a systematic study of the liquor problem, and is training up leaders for the great national prohibition movement. The United Societies of Christian Endeavor in their International Convention adopted a slogan, "A saloonless nation in 1920," the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock.

The Epworth League can do wonders toward making this a "Saloonless Nation," whether it comes in 1920—or before. Many Epworthians are voters. Many others have an influence over those who are. You have a right to demand that the candidates for office are square on this question. You should make an effort to find out how the candidates for our state and national legislatures stand. If they stand right, back them up. If they stand wrong, get them right, or failing in that, defeat them.

In 1912 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church declared:

We record our deliberate judgment that no candidate for any office which in any way may have to do with the liquor traffic has a right to expect, nor ought he to receive, the support of Christian citizens so long as he stands committed to the liquor interests or refuses to put himself in accord with a crystallized public sentiment for the overthrow of the liquor traffic.⁸

This is the officially expressed attitude of Methodism toward the saloon. In full harmony with this declaration of the highest representative body of our Church, and in view of the impending crisis in the movement for national prohibition, we propose the following pledge for Epworth Leaguers and urge that you circulate it everywhere:

“God being my helper, I promise that no political candidate can have my support or vote who stands committed to the liquor interests or refuses to commit himself to the policy of local, state and national prohibition.”

(After the owner of this book has read it and signed the pledge, let him lend it to as many others as possible, always asking them to sign this Epworthian's Pledge.)

Owner of book sign here



